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LIFE OF LEO THE TENTH.

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Biography

THE

LIFE AND PONTIFICATE

LEO THE TENTH.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE.

Fifth Edition,
REVISED BY HIS SON,
THOMAS ROSCOE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present edition has been printed from that of 1827, the last which underwent the immediate revision of the author. It contains many and important corrections and additions, the fruits of his own researches, or of those contributed by the Italian, German, and French critics, including Count Bossi, of Milan, who had devoted considerable attention to the subject, and translated the whole work into Italian. After great labour in investigating and condensing all these materials, the author, to use his own words, "finally delivered the Work to the public in the form in which he intended it should remain."

This REVISED STATE of MR. ROSCOE'S LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO THE TENTH is the copyright property of the Publisher, and cannot honestly be appropriated by others; nevertheless it is found necessary to caution the public against an unprincipled assumption of it now in progress, under the colourable pretext of resorting to the same original authorities.

The most interesting of the Documents and State Papers referred to in the course of the work, especially where they exist only in Manuscript, are given as Appendices, while such as are readily to be found in books of easy access are merely cited. The whole of the elegant and chivalrous Episode in defence of Lucretia Borgia, one of the most finished and masterly productions of the author, is likewise subjoined.

For almost three centuries the curiosity of mankind has been directed towards the age of Leo the Tenth. The history of that period has not, however, yet been attempted in a manner in any degree equal to the grandeur and variety of the subject. Nor is this difficult to be accounted for. Attractive as such an undertaking may at first appear, it will be found on a nearer inspection to be surrounded by many difficulties. The magnitude of such a task; the trouble of collecting the materials necessary to its proper execution; the long devotion of time and of labour which it must unavoidably require, and, above all, the apprehensions of not fulfilling the high expectations which have been formed of it, are some of those circumstances which have perhaps prevented the accomplishment of a work which has often been suggested, sometimes closely contemplated, but hitherto cautiously declined.

The same considerations which have deterred others from engaging in so laborious and hazardous an attempt, would in all probability have produced a similar effect on myself, had I not been led by imperceptible degrees to a situation in which I could scarcely, with either propriety or credit, have declined the task. The history of the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of Leo X., had opened the way to a variety of researches, not less connected with the events of the ensuing period, than

with those of the times for which they were immediately intended; and even that work was considered by many, perhaps not unjustly, as only the vestibule to a more spacious building, which it would be incumbent on the author at some future period to complete. Since that publication the friendship and liberality of several distinguished characters, both at home and abroad, have supplied me with many valuable communications and original documents, which without their countenance and favour, it would not have been in my power to obtain. To have withheld these materials from the public, would have defeated the purpose for which they were communicated; and to have shrunk from the task under such circumstances, would have given occasion for a construction almost as unfavourable to myself as the failure of success. These reflections have induced me, amidst the constant engagements of an active life, to persevere in an undertaking, which has occasionally called for exertions beyond what my time, my talents, or my health could always supply; and I now submit to the public the result of the labour of many years, in the best form in which, under all circumstances, it has been in my power to offer it to their acceptance.

Although I have entitled the following work THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X., yet I have not only thought it excusable, but even found it necessary to enter into the general history of the times; without which it would have been impossible to give so full an idea of the character and conduct of this celebrated pontiff, as it was my wish to communicate. Nor can I regret the opportunity which has thus been afforded me, of examining more fully than has perhaps hitherto been done, a period productive of great and important events, and which exhibits almost every diversity of human character. Respecting the propriety of this union of individual biography with general history, I am well aware, that doubts have been enter-

tained by persons of considerable eminence in literature. That there are certain limits between the province of the historian, and that of the biographer, may readily be admitted; yet, as these branches of study are equally conversant with the individuals of our own species, it will unavoidably happen, that each of them will at times encroach upon the precincts of the other. In perusing the pages of Livy or of Tacitus, of Hume or of Gibbon, we find no parts which interest us more than the private and personal memorials of those great and illustrious men who have acted a conspicuous part in the public events of the age; whilst, on the other hand, it would be impossible to form a correct idea of the character of an individual, without considering him in those relations, by which he stands connected with the general transactions of the times in which he lived, and which in truth have not only displayed, but in some measure formed his character. That these mutual concessions may admit of abuse, cannot be doubted; yet, if the great objects of pleasure and utility be obtained, that criticism would perhaps be too rigid, which would narrowly restrict so advantageous an interchange. In tracing the history of a people through any considerable portion of time, the attention is weakened, and the feelings are blunted, by the rapid succession of events and characters, in which we might have been more deeply interested, if our information respecting them had been more minute. The history of mankind may be compared to the surface of the earth, which is composed of wild woods and trackless deserts, interspersed, however, with cultivated spots, and peculiar appearances of nature. The traveller passes heedlessly over the undiversified prospect, and dwells only on such parts as, for their beauty, sublimity, or singularity, he deems most worthy of his regard.

These observations, it is hoped, may serve as an apology for my having entered so much at large into the history of

many transactions, which, although they were not influenced in any eminent degree by the personal interference of Leo X., greatly affected the fortunes of his early years. Of this nature is the narrative of the irruption of Charles VIII. into Italy; an enterprise which, as Mr. Gibbon asserts, changed the face of Europe, and of which he at one time meditated a distinct and separate history. The siege of Pisa, as long and as eventful as the celebrated siege of Troy, is so closely connected with all the political events and negotiations of the time, and in particular with the fate of the three brothers of the Medici, as unavoidably to obtrude itself upon our frequent notice. In adverting to the pontificate of Alexander VI. it is impossible to avoid being forcibly struck with the energy, or rather the atrocity of character by which that pontiff and his son Cæsar Borgia were distinguished; and the singular transactions recorded of them must occasionally give rise to doubts, which the labours of the most industrious and impartial inquirer will scarcely be adequate to remove. With the fortunes of the Medici, the effects of the memorable league of Cambray, which alone has been the subject of several volumes, are still more closely connected; whilst the conquest of Naples, and the expulsion of the royal family of Aragon by the united arms of Louis XII. and of Ferdinand of Spain, and the subsequent disagreement and contests of those monarchs for the dominion of that kingdom, claim our attention, no less on account of their connection with our principal subject, than by their intrinsic importance.

An opinion has of late been very generally advanced, both in this country and abroad, that notwithstanding the improvement which took place in Italy, in the age of Leo X., a very moderate portion of it is to be attributed to the personal exertions, talents, and patronage of that pontiff; and that by giving to this period the ostentatious title of THE AGE OF

Leo X. we deprive the other eminent patrons of literature who flourished during the same æra, of that praise to which they are justly entitled. I ought not very earnestly to oppose an opinion, which, if espoused by my readers, would relieve me from a great part of my responsibility. Yet, that Leo, during his short pontificate of less than nine years, exerted himself with considerable effect in the promotion of literature and the restoration of the fine arts, cannot be doubted; and as his services have never yet been sufficiently appreciated, or collected into one point of view, an attempt to supply what has hitherto been wanting in this respect, may be entitled at least to pardon. The effects produced by Leo on the character of the times will, however, be better estimated when the transactions of his life shall have been more fully unfolded. I shall afterwards return to this important and essential part of my subject, and endeavour to ascertain the amount of the obligations due from posterity to Leo the Tenth.

The earliest professed history of Leo X. is that of Paolo Giovio, better known by his Latin appellation of *Paulus Jovius*. This author, the character of whose various productions is sufficiently known, had every opportunity of obtaining the most exact and authentic information on the subject of his history. His Life of Leo X., written, like the rest of his works, in Latin, is one of the most valuable of his productions, containing much authentic information, and being perhaps less tinctured than the generality of his labours with that satirical spirit, which its author on many occasions evinced.

With this history of Leo X. by Jovius, and the Italian translation by Dominichi, printed at Florence in 1549, the learned world seems to have remained satisfied for upwards of two centuries. Many incidental anecdotes and brief memoirs of this distinguished pontiff were in the mean time given to the public; but the first serious intention of connecting the

Life of Leo X. with the history of the revival of learning, appears to have arisen in our own country, where the elegant and pathetic poet William Collins, about the middle of the last century, is said to have published proposals for such a history. "I have heard him speak with great kindness," says Dr. Johnson, "of Leo X., and with keen resentment of his tasteless successor; but probably not a page of the history was ever written." Much as we may regret the failure of this enterprise, those whom nature has endowed with the capacity of feeling the charm of the tender and impassioned productions of this author will regret still more those calamities that prevented him from increasing the number of his poetical works, which have justly been characterized, as exhibiting "a luxuriance of imagination, a wild sublimity of fancy, and a felicity of expression so extraordinary, that they might be supposed to be suggested by some superior power, rather than to be the effect of human judgment or capacity."

Among the friends of Collins, who seem to have shared his confidence and his studies, was Mr. Thomas Warton, by whom the design of giving a history of the restoration of Letters in Europe was continued, or revived. In the excellent Essay of his brother, Dr. Warton, on the life and writings of Pope, is the following passage: "Concerning the particular encouragement given by Leo X. to literature and the fine arts, I forbear to enlarge; because a friend of mine is at present engaged in writing the HISTORY OF THE AGE OF LEO THE TENTH. It is a noble period, and full of those most important events which have had the greatest influence on human affairs. Such as the discovery of the West Indies by the Spaniards, and of a passage to the East by the Portuguese; the invention of printing; the reformation of religion; with many others; all of which will be insisted upon at large, and their consequences displayed." As the Essay which contains this pas-

sage was first published in 1756, the same year in which Collins died, it is possible that this notice was intended to refer to his undertaking; but it is also certain, that on his death, the design was not abandoned by his surviving friends. In a conversation which I had the pleasure of enjoying with Dr. Warton, in the year 1797, the progress made in an undertaking which had been so long announced to the public became an object of my inquiry. By him I was informed that it had been the intention of himself, his brother, and several of their literary friends, to give a history of the revival of letters, not only in Italy, but in all the principal countries of Europe; and the history of English Poetry by Mr. Thomas Warton was only a part of this great design. When we advert to the various and excellent critical productions of these liberal and learned brothers, and consider that among the names of their coadjutors, would probably have been found those of West, of Walpole, of Mason, and of Gray, we cannot sufficiently lament the want of public encouragement which was, in all probability, the chief cause that prevented this noble and extensive undertaking from being carried into complete execution.

In Italy the life and transactions of Leo X. have within these few years been the subject of a work of no inconsiderable merit. To the writings of the late much lamented and learned Monsignore Angelo Fabroni, *Provveditore*, or Principal, of the university of Pisa, I have before been indebted for many important facts in the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici; some of which I have examined with that freedom which, to some authors, would have been a cause of offence, but which a liberal mind will always prefer to the vain homage of indiscriminate applause. The attempt which I then made to illustrate a period of history, which had been the peculiar object of his inquiry, had the good fortune to obtain his approbation. Under his

auspices, the English Life of Lorenzo de' Medici was elegantly translated into Italian by the Cavaliero Mecherini, and published at Pisa in the year 1799. I was afterwards honoured by the correspondence of Monsignore Fabroni, which was continued until the time of his death, in the latter part of the year 1803; and in the course of which he transmitted to me his "Life of Leo X.," written in Latin, and published at Pisa in the year 1797. In this work the learned author has not confined himself to the account given of Leo X. by Jovius, but has collected much original information respecting this pontiff, and the age in which he lived. By the aid of these resources he was enabled to throw additional light on his subject; whilst the valuable collection of documents published by him at the close of his work, not only confirms his narrative, but supplies important materials for future historians. As the work was not, however, intended by the author, so it must not be expected by the public, to contain a very full and extensive account of the progress made during the pontificate of Leo X. in the departments of science, of literature, or of art; or of those very numerous and distinguished men, to whose writings and labours the reign of that pontiff is indebted for its principal lustre.

But besides these professed histories of Leo X., several works have appeared which are chiefly confined to the elucidation of some particular parts of his life, or of those of the times in which he lived. Among these are the history of the League of Cambray, by some attributed to the pen of Cardinal Polignac, but more generally thought to be the work of the Abbe Du Bos; the narrative of the battle of the Taro, between Charles VIII. and the allied army of Italy, by Benedetti; the lives of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, by Gordon; the dialogue of Raffaello Brandolini, entitled Leo; and the commentary of Galeazzo Capella, on the efforts

made for the restoration of Francesco Sforza to the duchy of Milan: with many other publications of a similar nature, of which it will appear that I have frequently availed myself in the course of the following work.

The detached and particular histories to which I have before adverted contain, however, but a small portion of that immense mass of information which remains to the present times, respecting the public and private character and conduct of Leo X. From the high dignity which he enjoyed, both as a secular and an ecclesiastical potentate, and from the active part which he took in all the transactions which affected the state of Europe, his life is intimately connected with the general history of the age; insomuch, that there is not an author who has had occasion to treat on the events of this period, in whose work he does not occupy a conspicuous station.

To these, the recorders of the political, civil, and military events of the times, I might add a long train of literary historians, to whom I have been greatly indebted for that department of the following work, which is intended to illustrate the state of letters and of science; among these must be distinguished the immortal work of Tiraboschi; the noblest specimen of that species of composition which any age or country has produced; and the accurate and comprehensive account of the writers of Italy, by Mazzuchelli, who, in grasping at an object too extended for human talents or human life, has executed in six volumes in folio, a comparatively small portion of his colossal undertaking.

I shall not, on this occasion, weary the reader by enumerating the many other various and excellent authors, either in this department or in that of the fine arts, in which the Italians abound beyond any other country, who have afforded their assistance in the following pages; but I must avail myself of

this opportunity finally to observe, that I have made it an invariable rule, in the accounts which I have found it necessary to give of the writings and characters of men of literary eminence, to resort for information to their own works, as far as my opportunities would permit; and to found my opinions, and draw my deductions from them, rather than from those of any subsequent writer. How far I have been enabled thus to derive my intelligence from its primitive channels, will sufficiently appear in the course of my work; in which it has been my practice to refer to the author from whom I have actually quoted; and who must be considered as answerable for the accuracy of the citation when the original has not fallen in my way.

Such are the works relating to the life of Leo X., and the times in which he lived, which have already been published, and of which I have availed myself in the course of the ensuing narrative; but, besides these more ostensible sources of information, I have, during a series of years, been enabled to collect many original documents, which have served to throw considerable light on the times to which the following pages relate. Of these, one of the most important acquisitions consists of a series of letters and papers, copied from the originals in the archives of the *Palazzo Vecchio*, at Florence, and forming two volumes in folio, of about three hundred pages each. For this valuable collection I am indebted to the obliging and disinterested interference of a nobleman, who adds dignity to his station, not only by the firm and consistent tenour of his public conduct, but by his encouragement of those literary studies, in which he has himself made so distinguished a proficiency. The liberal views of Lord Holland were seconded by the kind assistance of Mr. Penrose, late chaplain to the British embassy at Florence, and were carried into complete effect by the generosity of the

Grand Duke, who directed that access should be had at all times to the original state papers, and every possible facility given to these researches. The first part of this collection consists chiefly of letters written by the great Lorenzo de' Medici, father of the pontiff, relating principally to the promotion of his son to the rank of cardinal. From these letters, which have enabled me to place this event in its fullest light, I might have given much larger extracts, but as they elucidate only this single circumstance, it will perhaps be thought that I have been sufficiently copious in my authorities on this head. This collection also comprises a series of letters written by Balthazar Turini, commonly called Balthazar, or Baldassare da Pescia, then at Rome, to Lorenzo de' Medici, the nephew of the pontiff, who resided at Florence during the early part of the pontificate of Leo X. From these, none of which have heretofore been printed, it appears that the writer was appointed assistant Datary, or Secretary, to transmit to Florence the fullest information on every event that took place at Rome, not only with respect to public transactions, but to the private concerns of every branch of the family of the Medici. In the execution of this office he seems to have acted under the immediate directions of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterward Clement VII., who was intrusted by Leo X. with the superintendence of the government of the Florentine state, and to whose suggestions Lorenzo was expected implicitly to conform. These letters, although they extend only from the month of March to the month of September, in the second year of the pontificate of Leo X. (1514), throw considerable light on the characters of the persons there mentioned, and suggest or illustrate many curious and important circumstances; but, besides these, the most material subjects, this collection of papers is interspersed with other documents of considerable interest, not heretofore published, and which will

be more particularly noticed in the course of the following work.

In adverting to the assistance which I have derived from the city of Florence, that cradle of the arts in modern times, I must not omit to notice the favours conferred on me by the late venerable and learned Canonico Angelo Maria Bandini, principal librarian of the Laurentian library there. Of a character so well known in the literary world, any commendation of mine would be superfluous; yet I cannot avoid remarking it as an extraordinary circumstance, that he maintained a high rank among the scholars of Italy during the long space of sixty years, and that some account of him and his early productions was given in the great work of Mazzuchelli, the publication of which he survived nearly half a century. During this period he continued to enrich the republic of letters by many other works; some of which, as they bear a particular reference to the history of the Medici, will be referred to in the following pages. To this eminent man, who retained his early and ardent love of literature to the close of his days, I am also indebted for the communication of several scarce and valuable documents, both printed and manuscript, as well as for various letters, indicating to me, with the utmost attention and minuteness, those sources of information which his long and intimate acquaintance with the subjects of the following volumes had enabled him to point out.

In the prosecution of this work, I was, however, well aware that the most important information for my purpose might be derived from the immense collections of the Vatican, and could not but regret, that from the calamitous state of public affairs, the distance of my own situation from these records, and other circumstances, there was little probability that I should be able to surmount the formidable obstacles that pre-

sented themselves to its attainment. From this state of despondency I was, however, fortunately relieved, by the unsolicited kindness of John Johnson, Esq., then on his travels through Italy, who, with a liberality which demands my warmest acknowledgments, obtained for me, by means of his acquaintance with the Abate Gaetano Marini, the learned Prefect of the Archives of the Vatican, a considerable number of important documents, copied as well from the manuscripts in that collection as from printed works of extreme rarity, which relate to the affairs of the Roman court in the time of Leo X., and which are, for the most part, to be found only in that collection. Among the former is the fragment of an unpublished life of Leo X., written in Latin, with considerable elegance, and brought down to the year 1516. The printed works consist principally of letters and orations of the ambassadors of foreign states to Leo X., and were probably only printed for the exclusive use of the Roman court. Besides these, I had also the pleasure of receiving an entire copy of the very scarce and curious tract of Jacopo Penni, containing the most particular account which now remains of the ceremonies and splendid exhibitions that took place in Rome on the elevation of Leo X., with many other pieces from the same authentic quarter.

To the continued favour and friendly recommendations of the same gentleman during his progress through Italy, I am also indebted for my literary intercourse with the celebrated Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco at Venice, well known to the learned world as the author of many estimable works. From him I have received much useful information respecting the publications necessary for my purpose, accompanied by some scarce tracts, and by his own judicious and interesting remarks. I am sensible that in thus paying the tribute of gratitude to the most illustrious scholars of Italy, I

may be suspected of attempting to support my own weak endeavours upon the established reputation of their names; but I have not been deterred by this consideration from discharging what I esteem to be an indispensable obligation to the living, and a sacred duty to the dead; being well convinced that the favours conferred upon me can no more excuse the imperfections of my work, than those imperfections can detract from the high character which the persons to whom I have referred have so justly and so universally obtained.

Respecting the private lives of Leo X. and his predecessors Alexander VI. and Julius II., considerable information is derived from the diaries of the successive officers of the Roman court, who were styled Masters of the Ceremonies of the pope's chapel, and who seem to have considered it as part of their duty to keep a register of such transactions as occurred under their own eye, or came to their knowledge. The first of these officers whose labours appear to have been preserved, is Giovanni Burcardo, Broccardo, or as he is more usually called, Burchard, a native of Strasbourg, and dean of the church of St. Thomas, in that city. He afterwards transferred his residence to Rome, where he obtained several ecclesiastical preferments, and was appointed master of the ceremonies on the twenty-first day of December, 1483, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. A few months afterwards he commenced his journal, which during the life of Sixtus IV. was confined to a few slight and unimportant minutes. On the death of that pontiff he extended his plan, and has occasionally enriched it with anecdotes, and adverted to circumstances not strictly confined to the limits of his office. His diary is written in Latin, in a pedestrian and semi-barbarian style, but with an apparent accuracy and minuteness as to facts, which, notwithstanding the singular circumstances related by him, give it an air of veracity. Such part as adverts to the life of Alex-

ander VI. has been published almost entire. Large extracts from it have also been given by several authors, who have been inclined to expatiate on the enormities of this pontiff, and particularly by Gordon, in his Life of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, printed at London in 1729. After the death of Alexander, Burchard was appointed, by Julius II., bishop of Horta, in the possession of which dignity he died on the sixteenth day of May, 1506.

About two years before the death of Burchard, he had a colleague or assistant in Paris de Grassis, who also succeeded him as master of the ceremonies. This officer has also kept a diary, which commences on the twelfth day of May, 1504, and is continued throughout the rest of the pontificate of Julius II. and the whole of that of Leo X. It has never been printed entire, but some detached parts have been published; and it has also been consulted by several writers, who have given extracts from it in their works.

From the narrative of Paris de Grassis, it appears that he was a native of Bologna, of a respectable family. His brother Achilles was, in the year 1511, raised by Julius II. to the dignity of the purple, and was one of the most learned and respectable members of the college. Another brother, Agamemnon (for the family names seem to have been sought for in Homer, rather than in the books of the Old and New Testament), was, in the year 1510, ambassador from the city of Bologna to the pope. The assiduities of Paris, as master of the ceremonies, could not conciliate the favour of that austere pontiff, Julius II., but in the vacancy of the holy see, which occurred on the death of that pope, he obtained from the sacred college, as a reward for his services, the promise of the bishopric of Pesaro, united with the abbey of Santa Croce. These dignities were afterwards confirmed to him by Leo X., who also nominated him a prelate of the palace, and appointed his

nephew to be his coadjutor in the office of master of the ceremonies. He survived that pontiff, and died at Rome on the tenth day of June, 1528.

The style of Paris de Grassis, like that of his predecessor, has little pretensions to elegance. It is, however, rendered interesting by its simplicity, which gives to his narration a character of fidelity. In the exercise of his functions he seems to have been a more rigid disciplinarian than even Burchard himself, and it is somewhat amusing to observe the importance which he frequently attaches to his office, and the severity with which he reproves those relaxations from the dignity of his high rank, in which Leo, on some occasions, indulged himself.

Among the objects of my earnest inquiry, was the unpublished part of the diary of Paris de Grassis, which yet exists in the library of the Vatican, and of which copies are also found in the National Library at Paris. Of this diary, as well as of that of Burchard, some of the most interesting particulars have already been given to the public, in the work entitled, "Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi," which has been continued under the title of "Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale;" but, as the extracts thus made are not in general given in the original Latin, but are for the most part abridged, and translated into French, I have not derived from this work the advantages which I might otherwise have obtained. It happened, however, fortunately for my purpose, that in the summer of the year 1802, my particular friend and neighbour, the Rev. W. Shepherd, well known as the author of "The Life of Poggio Bracciolini," paid a visit to Paris. On this occasion I scrupled not to request his assistance in examining for me the different manuscripts of the diary of Paris de Grassis, and making such extracts from them, in the original,

as he conceived would be most interesting. As no one can be better qualified for such a task, so no one could have entered upon it with greater alacrity. During his stay at Paris, a considerable portion of his time was passed in these researches, in which he met with every possible facility from the librarians; and on his return, he brought with him several curious extracts, which have enabled me to throw additional light on the history of Leo X., and particularly on the singular circumstances attending his death.

Nor have I, in the course of my inquiries, wholly omitted the opportunities which even this country affords, of collecting information from unpublished documents respecting the times in question. Among the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum, are contained many original letters from the Roman court, and the English ambassadors resident there, to Henry VIII. and his ministers, explanatory of the political transactions of the age. I had not an opportunity of examining these papers until my work was considerably advanced; but by the kind assistance of my highly respected friend, John Walker, Esq., of Bedford-square, and by the obliging attention of Mr. Planta, principal librarian of the British Museum, I have been enabled to inform myself of such documents as were more particularly applicable to my purpose, some of which the reader will find, either given entire in the Appendix, or referred to in the course of the work.

Although I have for several years endeavoured, at great expense, and with considerable success, to collect such printed works as appeared to be necessary for the present undertaking, yet I have not neglected to solicit the assistance, or to avail myself of the offers of several persons, on whose friendship and liberality I could rely, to furnish me with such publications as I had not had the good fortune elsewhere to obtain. To the very obliging liberality of Richard Heber, Esq., of

Hodnet, whose library is particularly enriched by the early editions of the works of the modern writers of Latin poetry, I am indebted for the use of many of the scarce publications in that department, referred to in the following volumes, which have enabled me to discuss the subjects to which they relate, with greater confidence than I could possibly have done through the secondary medium of other writers. The very select library of my early literary associate, and long valued friend, William Clarke, Esq., of Everton, has also been of frequent use to me in the course of my researches, during which I have derived additional assistance from his extensive learning and very particular acquaintance with the literary history of Italy. My acknowledgments are also due for the use of scarce books and manuscripts, or for other favours in the course of my work, to Dr. James Currie, late of Liverpool, but now of Bath, well known by his many valuable publications, both on scientific and literary subjects, and whom I am proud to record on this occasion as my long esteemed and excellent friend; the Rev. Wm. Parr Greswell, author of "Memoirs of Italian Scholars who have written Latin poetry;" Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter principal King of Arms; Mr. Wm. Smyth, Fellow of Peter House, Cambridge; Henry Brown, Esq., of Liverpool; the Rev. Mr. Hincks, of Cork; the Rev. Mr. Crane, Vicar of Over, in Cheshire; the Rev. John Greswell, of the college, Manchester; and to several other persons, who will, I hope, excuse a more particular acknowledgment, in the confidence that I am not insensible of their favours.

With respect to the execution of the following work, I cannot but be well aware, that many circumstances and characters will be found represented in a light somewhat different from that in which they have generally been viewed, and that I may probably be accused of having suffered myself to be induced

by the force of prejudice, or the affectation of novelty, to remove what have hitherto been considered as the landmarks of history. To imputations of this kind I feel the most perfect indifference. Truth alone has been my guide, and whenever she has steadily diffused her light, I have endeavoured to delineate the objects in their real form and colour. History is the record of the experience of mankind, in their most important concerns. If it be impossible for human sagacity to estimate the consequences of a falsehood in private life, it is equally impossible to estimate the consequences of a false or partial representation of the events of former times. The conduct of the present is regulated by the experience of the past. The circumstances which have led the way to the prosperity or destruction of states will lead the way to the prosperity or destruction of states in all future ages. If those in high authority be better informed than others, it is from this source that their information must be drawn; and to pollute it, is therefore to poison the only channel through which we can derive that knowledge, which, if it can be obtained pure and unadulterated, cannot fail in time to purify the intellect, expand the powers, and improve the condition of the human race.

As in speaking of the natural world, there are some persons who are disposed to attribute its creation to chance, so in speaking of the moral world, there are some who are inclined to referthe events and fluctuations in human affairs to accident, and are satisfied with accounting for them from the common course of things, or the spirit of the times. But as *chance* and *accident*, if they have any meaning whatever, can only mean the operation of causes not hitherto fully investigated, or distinctly understood, so *the spirit of the times* is only another phrase for causes and circumstances which

have not hitherto been sufficiently explained. It is the province of the historian to trace and to discover these causes, and it is only in proportion as he accomplishes this object, that his labours are of any utility. An assent to the former opinion may indeed gratify our indolence, but it is only from the latter method that we can expect to acquire true knowledge, or to be able to apply to future conduct the information derived from past events.

There is one peculiarity in the following work, which it is probable may be considered as a radical defect. I allude to the frequent introduction of quotations and passages from the poets of the times, occasionally interspersed through the narrative, or inserted in the notes. To some it may appear that the seriousness of history is thus impertinently broken in upon, whilst others may suppose, that not only its gravity, but its authenticity is impeached by these citations, and may be inclined to consider this work as one of those productions, in which truth and fiction are blended together, for the purpose of amusing and misleading the reader. To such imputations I plead, not guilty. That I have at times introduced quotations from the works of the poets, for the elucidation of historical facts, I confess; nor, when they proceed from contemporary authority, do I perceive that their being in verse invalidates their credit. In this light I have frequently cited the "Decennale" of Machiavelli, and the "Vergier d'Honneur" of André de la Vigne, which are in fact little more than versified annals of the events of the times; but, in general, I have not adduced such extracts as evidences of facts, but for a purpose wholly different. To those who are pleased in tracing the emotions and passions of the human mind in all ages, nothing can be more gratifying than to be informed of the mode of thinking of the public at large, at interesting periods,

and in important situations. Whilst war and desolation stalk over a country, or whilst a nation is struggling for its liberties or its existence, the opinions of men of genius, ability, and learning, who have been agitated with all the hopes and fears to which such events have given rise, and have frequently acted a personal and important part in them, are the best and most instructive comment. By such means we seem to become contemporaries with those whose history we peruse, and to acquire an intimate knowledge, not only of the facts themselves, but of the judgment formed upon such facts by those who were most deeply interested in them. Nor is it a slight advantage in a work which professes to treat on the literature of the times, that the public events, and the works of the eminent scholars and writers of that period, thus become a mutual comment, and serve on many occasions to explain and to illustrate each other.

The practice which I have heretofore adopted of designating the scholars of Italy by their national appellations, has given rise to some animadversions. In answer to which I beg to remark, that whoever is conversant with history must frequently have observed the difficulties which arise from the wanton alterations, in the names of both persons and places, by authors of different countries, and particularly by the French, who, without hesitation, accommodate every thing to the genius of their own language. Hence, the names of all the eminent men of Greece, of Rome, or of Italy, are melted down, and appear again in such a form as would not in all probability have been recognized by their proper owners; Dionysiusis *Denys*, Titus Livius *Tite Live*, Horatius *Horace*, Petrarca, *Petrarque*, and Pico of Mirandola *Pic de Mirandole*. As the literature which this country derived from Italy was

first obtained through the medium of the French, our early authors followed them in this respect, and thereby sanctioned those innovations which the nature of our own language did not require. It is still more to be regretted that we are not even uniform in our abuse. In the instance of such names as are familiar to our early literature, we adopt with the French the abbreviated appellation; but in latter times we usually employ proper national distinctions, and instead of *Arioste*, or *Metastase*, we write, without hesitation, *Ariosto*, or *Metastasio*. This inconsistency is more sensibly felt when the abbreviated appellation of one scholar is contrasted with the national distinction of another, as when a letter is addressed by *Petrarch* to *Coluccio Salutati*, or by *Politian* to *Ermolao Barbaro*, or *Baccio Ugolini*. For the sake of uniformity, it is surely desirable that every writer should conform as much as possible to some general rule, which can only be found by a reference of every proper name to the standard of its proper country. This method would not only avoid the incongruities before mentioned, but would be productive of positive advantages, as it would in general point out the nation of the person spoken of, without the necessity of further indication. Thus, in mentioning one of the monarchs of France, who makes a conspicuous figure in the ensuing pages, I have not denominated him *Lodovico XII.* with the Italians, nor *Lewis XII.* with the English, but *Louis XII.* the name which he himself recognized. And thus I have also restored to a celebrated Scottish general, in the service of the same monarch, his proper title of *d'Aubigny*, instead of that of *Obigni*, usually given him by the historians of Italy.

I cannot deliver this work to the public without a most painful conviction, that notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, and the most sedulous attention which it has been

in my power to bestow upon it, many defects will still be discoverable, not only from the omission of much important information, which may not have occurred to my inquiries, but from an erroneous or imperfect use of such as I may have had the good fortune to obtain. Yet I trust, that when the extent of the work, and the great variety of subjects which it comprehends, are considered, the candid and judicious will make due allowance for those inaccuracies against which no vigilance can at all times effectually guard. With this publication, I finally relinquish all intention of prosecuting, with a view to the public, my researches into the history and literature of Italy. That I have devoted to its completion a considerable portion of time and of labour, will sufficiently appear from the perusal of the following pages, and it may therefore be presumed that I cannot be indifferent to its success. But, whatever inducements I may have found in the hope of conciliating the indulgence or the favour of the public, I must finally be permitted to avow, that motives of a different, and perhaps of a more laudable nature, have occasionally concurred to induce me to persevere in the present undertaking. Among these, is an earnest desire to exhibit to the present times an illustrious period of society; to recal the public attention to those standards of excellence to which Europe has been indebted for no inconsiderable portion of her subsequent improvement; to unfold the ever-active effect of moral causes on the acquirements and the happiness of a people; and thereby to raise a barrier, as far as such efforts can avail, against that torrent of a corrupt and vitiated taste, which, if not continually opposed, may once more overwhelm the cultivated nations of Europe in barbarism and degradation. To these great and desirable aims I could wish to add others, yet more exalted and commendable; to demonstrate the fatal consequences of an ill-

directed ambition, and to deduce, from the unperverted pages of history, those maximsof true humanity, sound wisdom, and political fidelity, which have been too much neglected in all ages, but which are the only solid foundations of the repose, the dignity, and the happiness of mankind.

ALLERTON,
8th March, 1805.

PREFACE

THE THIRD EDITION.

After the lapse of several years, another edition of "The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth" is now offered to the public. In the mean time the work has been frequently reprinted in other countries, and translated into the principal languages of Europe. In Germany, where the taste for Italian literature has been cultivated to a greater extent than in any other of the northern states, it was translated by Professor Glaser, accompanied by valuable notes and dissertations by M. Philip Henry Conrad Henke, and published at Leipzig, in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, in three volumes 8vo. A translation, by M. P. F. Henry, appeared at Paris, in the year 1808, in four volumes 8vo., of which another and more correct edition was published in 1813. A few additional notes by the French translator accompanied these last-mentioned publications.

In Italy, a translation of the work was undertaken by the Conte Cavaliero Luigi Bossi, of Milan, a person in every respect qualified for the purpose, which made its appearance at various intervals, in the years 1816 and 1817, in twelve volumes 8vo., ornamented with numerous plates of portraits, medals, &c. Earnestly devoted to the subject, and thoroughly acquainted with the history of his country (which he has

illustrated by a work of his own in nineteen volumes 8vo.), he has given additional interest to his translation of Leo X. by numerous notes and additions, and by various dissertations on subjects connected with the work. The situation of Count Bossi at Milan, his acquaintance with books and manuscripts relating to the times in question, and his connection with persons of high literary eminence in Italy, have also enabled him to make considerable additions to the proofs and documents which I had before adduced in confirmation of my narrative. The dispersion of an edition of 2,800 copies of this translation in Italy may be considered as a sufficient indication of the public opinion; but, if any thing further were wanted, it might here be added, that his Holiness, Leo XII., has thought proper to prohibit the further circulation of this history of the most illustrious of his predecessors, and has consigned the LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X. to the INDEX EXPURGATORIUS.

The notes and observations by which the before-mentioned translations, and particularly the German and Italian, are accompanied, are the production of persons who have thought for themselves on the various subjects there discussed, and have examined as well the general spirit and tendency of the work, as the particular facts and circumstances which are there related. On this account the present history has undergone an ordeal to which few works of a similar nature have been subjected; and as the different annotators have not scrupled to bring forward their objections on some occasions, with the same freedom that they have stated the reasons for their assent on others, the author has found it incumbent on him, in giving the present edition (the last he will probably ever revise), to examine their remarks with diligence and impartiality, and either to admit their validity, or to shew the grounds of his adherence to his former opinions. The task he has thus under-

taken is not only due to the labours of those who have devoted to the examination of his work so great a portion of their time and attention, but is indeed such as he could not in justice to himself avoid. Some of the subjects to which the before-mentioned criticisms relate are, in his estimation, of the first importance to the character and credit of his work, and to have passed over such objections without a reply, would have amounted to no less than a confession of his inability to maintain his statements, or to defend his opinions. He hopes he shall therefore stand excused in referring so frequently to the remarks of the different translators of the present work, which he is happy to do with those feelings which ought always to accompany a debate on literary subjects, and with that satisfaction which must naturally arise, from finding that very few instances have occurred in which he has thought it incumbent on him to make any alteration in his narrative.

In finally submitting the present work to the indulgence of the public, it has not been thought necessary to republish the preface to the second edition, the only object of which was, to vindicate the statements in the first edition respecting the date of a letter from Luther to Leo X. against the unfounded objections of the Edinburgh Review. As that vindication has not been controverted, and as the evidence, as well external as internal, for the date assigned to the letter will be found condensed in that part of the present work where the contents of it are noticed, it is presumed that the preface to the second edition may now be dispensed with.

January 1, 1827.



THE

LIFE OF LEO THE TENTH.

CHAPTER I.

1475—1493.

Birth of Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X.—Sovereigns of Christendom—Political state of Europe—Peculiarities of the Papal Government—Temporal power of the Popes—Union of the spiritual and temporal authority—Advantages of the papal Government—Destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the Church—His early preferments—His father endeavours to raise him to the rank of a Cardinal—Marriage of Francesco Cibò and Maddalena de' Medici—Giovanni raised to the dignity of the purple—Education of Giovanni de' Medici—Bernardo Dovizio da Bibbiena—Defects in the character of Giovanni accounted for—Studies in the Academy at Pisa—His father endeavours to shorten the term of his probation—Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII.—Giovanni invested with the insignia of his rank—Quits Florence to reside at Rome—Eminent Cardinals then in the college—Zizim, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, delivered into the custody of the Pope—Rumours of approaching calamities.

Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards supreme pontiff by the name of Leo the Tenth, was the second son of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent, by his wife Clarice, the daughter of Giacopo Orsino. He was born at Florence, on the eleventh day of December, 1475; and most probably received his baptismal name after his paternal great uncle, Giovanni, the second son of Cosmo de' Medici, who died in the year 1461; or from Giovanni Tornabuoni, the brother of Lucretia, mother of Lorenzo de' Medici, who was then living.

At the time of the birth of Giovanni, the age of portents was not yet past; and it has been recorded with all the gra-

vity of history, that, prior to that event, his mother dreamed that she was delivered of an enormous, but docile lion; which was supposed to be a certain prognostic, not only of the future eminence of her son, but also of the name which he was to assume on arriving at the papal dignity.* Whether the dream gave rise to the appellation, or the appellation to the dream, may admit of doubt; but although nothing appears in his infancy to justify his being compared to a lion, in his early docility he seems at least to have realized the supposed prognostics of his mother.

The year in which Giovanni was born is distinguished in the annals of Italy as a year of peace and tranquillity, whilst almost all the rest of Europe was involved in the calamities of internal commotions, or of foreign war. It was also solemnized as the year of Jubilee, which was thenceforwards celebrated once in twenty-five years.

At this period the pontifical chair was filled by Sixtus IV., who had not yet evinced that turbulent disposition which was afterwards so troublesome, not only to the family of the Medici and the city of Florence, but to all the states of Italy. The kingdom of Naples was governed by Ferdinand, the illegitimate son of Alphonso, king of Naples, Aragon, and Sicily; who had bequeathed the first of these kingdoms to his son, but was succeeded in the two latter by his brother John II., the father of another Ferdinand, who now enjoyed them, and by his marriage with Isabella, the sister of Henry IV. of Castile, united the kingdoms of Arragon and Castile under one dominion. The states of Milan were yet held by Galeazzo Maria, the son of the great Francesco Sforza. Frederick III. had long worn the imperial crown. Louis XI. was king of France; Edward IV. of England; and the celebrated Mattia Corvino had lately been elected, by the free voice of his countrymen, to the supreme dominion of Hungary.

The political system of Europe was as yet unformed. The despotic sovereign, governing a half-civilized people, had in general only two principal ends in view; the supporting of his authority at home by the depression of his powerful

* Jovii, vita Leonis X. lib. i. Ammirato, Ritratto di Leone X. in Opusc. iii. 62. The same story is related by Plutarch, of Agaristis, the mother of Pericles.

nobles, and the extending of his dominion abroad by the subjugation of his weaker neighbours. Devoted to these objects, which frequently required all their talents and all their resources, the potentates of Europe had beheld with the utmost indifference the destruction of the eastern empire, and the abridgement of the Christian territory, by a race of barbarians, who were most probably prevented only by their own dissensions from establishing themselves in Italy, and desolating the kingdoms of the west. It was in vain that Pius II. had called upon the European sovereigns to unite in the common cause. The ardour of the crusades was past. A jealousy of each other, or of their own subjects, was an insuperable obstacle to his entreaties; and the good pontiff was at length convinced, that his eloquence would be better employed in prevailing on the Turkish Emperor to relinquish his creed and embrace Christianity, than in stimulating the princes of Europe to resist his arms.*

The establishment and long uninterupted continuance of the papal government, may justly be considered as amongst the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind. To the sincere catholic this indeed is the great evidence of the truth of the religion which he professes, the perpetual miracle which proves a constant extension of the divine favour to that church, *against which the gates of hell shall not prevail*; but they who conceive that this phenomenon, like other events of the moral world, is to be accounted for from secondary causes, and from the usual course of nature, will perhaps be inclined to attribute it to the ductility and habitual subservience of the human mind, which, when awed by superstition, and subdued by hereditary prejudices, can not only assent to the most incredible propositions, but act, in consequence of these convictions, with as much energy and perseverance, as if they were the clearest deductions of reason, or the most evident dictates of truth. Whilst the other sovereigns of Europe held their dominions by lineal succession, by choice of election, or by what politicians have denominated the right of conquest, the

* Pii II. Æneæ Sylvii Epist. ad Illustrissimum Mahumetum Turcorum principem. Mediolan. 1487. From its internal evidence this letter is supposed to have been written in 1460 or 1461.

Roman pontiff claimed his power as the immediate vicegerent of God; and experience has shewn, that, for a long course of ages, his title was considered as the most secure of any in Europe. Nor has the papal government, in latter times, received any great trouble from the turbulence of its subjects, who, instead of feeling themselves degraded, were perhaps gratified in considering themselves as the peculiar people of a sovereign whose power was not bounded by the limits of his own dominions, but was as extensive as Christianity itself.

Without entering upon a minute enquiry into the origin of the temporal authority of the Roman Pontiffs, it may be sufficient to observe, that even after they had emerged from their pristine state of poverty and humility, they remained for many ages in an acknowledged subordination to the Roman emperors, and to their delegates, the exarchates of Ravenna; to whom, when the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople, the government of Italy was intrusted. As the power of the emperors declined, that of the popes increased; and in the contests of the middle ages, during which the Huns, the Vandals, the imperialists, and the Franks, were successively masters of Italy, a common veneration among these ferocious conquerors for the father of the faithful, and the head of the Christian Church, not only secured his safety, but enlarged his authority.[1] From the time of the emperor Constantine, various grants, endowments, and donations of extensive territories, were conferred by different princes on the bishops of Rome; insomuch, that there is scarcely any part of Italy to which they have not at some period asserted a claim. That many of these grants are supposititious, is generally acknowledged;[2] whilst the validity of others, which are admitted to have existed, frequently rests merely on the temporary right of some intruder, whose only title was his sword, and who, in many instances, gave to the pontiff what he could no longer retain for himself. Under the colour, however, of these donations, the popes possessed themselves of different parts of Italy, and among the rest, of the whole exarchate of Ravenna, extending along a considerable part of the Adriatic coast, to which they gave the name of Romania, or Romagna.[3] The

subsequent dissensions between the popes and the emperors, the frequent schisms which occurred in the church, the unwarlike nature of the papal government, and above all, the impolitic transfer of the residence of the supreme pontiffs from Rome to Avignon, in the fourteenth century, combined to weaken the authority which the popes had in the course of so many ages acquired; and, in particular, the cities of Romagna, throwing off their dependence on the papal see, either formed for themselves peculiar and independent governments, or became subject to some successful adventurer, who acquired his superiority by force of arms. No longer able to maintain an actual authority, the Roman pontiffs endeavoured to reserve at least a paramount or confirmatory right; and as the sanction of the pope was not a matter of indifference to these subordinate sovereigns, he delegated to them his power on easy conditions, by investing them with the title of vicars of the church.[4] It was thus the family of Este obtained the dominion of Ferrara, which they had extended, in fact, to an independent principality. Thus the cities of Rimini and Cesena were held by the family of Malatesta; Faenza and Imola by the Manfredi; and many other cities of Italy became subject to petty sovereigns, who governed with despotic authority, and by their dissensions frequently rendered that fertile, but unhappy country, the theatre of contest, of rapine, and of blood.

From this period, the temporal authority of the popes was chiefly confined to the district entitled the patrimony of St. Peter, with some detached parts of Umbria, and the Marca d'Ancona.[5] The claims of the church were not, however, suffered to remain dormant, whenever an opportunity of enforcing them occurred, and the recovery of its ancient possessions had long been considered as a duty indispensably incumbent on the supreme pontiff. But, although for this purpose he scrupled not to avail himself of the arms, the alliances, and the treasures of the church, yet, when the enterprise proved successful, it generally happened that the conquered territory only exchanged its former lord for some near kinsman of the reigning pontiff, who, during the life of his benefactor, endeavoured to secure and extend his authority by all the means in his power.

The Roman pontiffs have always possessed an advantage over the other sovereigns of Europe, from the singular union of ecclesiastical and temporal power in the same person; two engines, which long experience had taught them to use with a dexterity equal to that, with which the heroes of antiquity availed themselves by turns of the shield and the spear. When schemes of ambition and aggrandizement were to be pursued, the pope, as a temporal prince, could enter into alliances, raise supplies, and furnish his contingent of troops, so as effectually to carry on an offensive war; but no sooner was he endangered by defeat, and alarmed for the safety of his own dominions, than he resorted for shelter to his pontifical robes, and loudly called upon all Christendom to defend from violation the head of the holy church.[6] That these characters were successively assumed with great address and advantage, will sufficiently appear from the following pages; and although some difficulties might occasionally arise in the exercise of them, yet, notwithstanding the complaint of one of the ablest apologists of the Roman pontiffs, the world has, upon the whole, been sufficiently indulgent to their situation; nor has even the shedding of Christian blood been thought an invincible objection to the conferring on a deceased pontiff the honour of canonization, and placing him in the highest order of sainthood in the Roman church.*

It is not, however, to be denied, that the papal government, although founded on so singular a basis, and exercised with despotic authority, has been attended with some advantages peculiar to itself, and beneficial to its subjects. Whilst the choice of the sovereign, by the decision of a peculiar body of electors, on the one hand preserves the people from those dissensions which frequently arise from the disputed right of hereditary claimants; on the other hand, it prevents those tumultuous debates which too frequently result from the violence of a popular election. By this system the dangers of a minority in the governor are avoided, and the sovereign assumes the command at a time of life, when it may be presumed that passion is subdued by reason, and experience

* Pallavacini, c. i. p. 47.

matured into wisdom. The qualifications by which the pope is supposed to have merited the supreme authority, are also such as would be most likely to direct him in the best mode of exercising it. Humility, chastity, temperance, vigilance, and learning, are among the chief of these requisites; and although some of them have confessedly been too often dispensed with, yet few individuals have ascended the pontifical throne without possessing more than a common share of intellectual endowments. Hence the Roman pontiffs have frequently displayed examples highly worthy of imitation, and have signalized themselves in an eminent degree, as patrons of science, of letters, and of art. Cultivating, as ecclesiastics, those studies which were prohibited or discouraged among the laity, they may in general be considered as superior to the age in which they lived; and among the predecessors of Leo X. the philosopher may contemplate with approbation the eloquence and courage of Leo I. who preserved the city of Rome from the ravages of the barbarian Attila; the beneficence, candour, and pastoral attention of Gregory I., unjustly charged with being the adversary of liberal studies; the various acquirements of Silvester II., so extraordinary in the eyes of his contemporaries, as to cause him to be considered as a sorcerer; the industry, acuteness, and learning of Innocent III., of Gregory IX., of Innocent IV., and of Pius II.; and the munificence and love of literature so strikingly displayed in the character of Nicholas V.

Notwithstanding the extensive influence acquired by the Roman see, that circumstance had not, for a long course of time, induced the princes of Europe to attempt to vest the pontifical authority in any individual of their own family. Whether this forbearance was occasioned by an idea, that the long course of humiliation by which alone this dignity could be obtained, was too degrading to a person of royal birth, or by a contempt for every profession but that of arms, may be a subject of doubt; but from whatever cause it arose, it appears to have been, in the fifteenth century, completely removed: almost every sovereign in Italy, and perhaps in Europe, striving with the utmost ardour to procure for their nearest relations a seat in the sacred college, as a necessary step to the pontifical chair. What the European princes

endeavoured to accomplish in the persons of their own kindred, the popular governments attempted in those of their most illustrious citizens; and the favour betowed by Paul II. upon his countrymen the Venetians, may reasonably be supposed to have operated upon the sagacious and provident mind of Lorenzo de' Medici, to induce him to attempt the establishment of the chief ecclesiastical dignity in one of his own family. Nor is it improbable, that whilst he was actuated by this motive, he was impelled by another of no less efficacy. By the resentment of the papal see he had lost a much-loved brother; and although he had himself escaped with his life from the dagger of the assassin, yet he had experienced, from the same cause, a series of calamities, from which he was only extricated by one of the most daring expedients recorded in history. To prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of a circumstance which had nearly destroyed the authority of his family, and to establish his children in such situations as might render them a mutual support and security to each other, in the high departments for which they were intended, were doubtless some of the motives which occasioned the destination of Giovanni de' Medici to the church, and produced those important effects upon the religion, the politics, and the taste of Europe, which are so conspicuous in the pontificate of Leo X.

That it was the intention of Lorenzo, from the birth of his son, to raise him eventually to the high dignity which he afterwards acquired, cannot be doubted; and the authority which he possessed in the affairs of Italy enabled him to engage in this undertaking with the fairest prospects of success. Soon after he had attained the seventh year of his age, Giovanni de' Medici had received the tonsura, and was declared capable of ecclesiastical preferment. At this early period his father had applied to Louis XI. to confer upon him some church living. In the reply of the French king, which bears date the seventeenth day of February, 1482, he thus expresses himself:—"I understand from your letter of the thirtieth of January, the intentions you have formed respecting your son, which if I had known them before the death of the cardinal of Rohan, I should have endeavoured to accomplish; but I have no objection on the next vacancy

of a benefice, to do for him whatever lies in my power"* Accordingly, Giovanni was in the following year, appointed by the king, abbot of Fonte-dolce; and this was speedily followed by the investiture of the rich monastery of Passignano, bestowed upon him by Sixtus IV., who, towards the close of his days, seemed desirous of obliterating from the minds of the Medici the remembrance of his former hostility. The particulars of this singular instance of ecclesiastical promotion, and of the additional honours bestowed upon Giovanni de' Medici, are given by Lorenzo himself, in his Ricordi, with great simplicity. "On the nineteenth day of May, 1843," says he, "we received intelligence, that the king of France had, of his own motion, presented to my son Giovanni, the abbey of Fonte-dolce. On the thirty-first, we heard from Rome, that the pope had confirmed the grant, and had rendered him capable of holding a benefice, he being now *seven* years of age. On the first day of June, Giovanni accompanied me from Poggio† to Florence, where he was confirmed by the bishop of Arezzo, and received the tonsura; and from thenceforth was called *Messire Giovanni*. The before-mentioned circumstances took place in the chapel of our family. The next morning he returned to Poggio. On the eighth day of June, Jacopino, a courier, arrived with advices from the king of France, that he had conferred upon Messire Giovanni the archbishoprick of Aix, in Provence; on which account a messenger was despatched, on the same evening, to Rome, with letters from the king to the pope and the cardinal di Macone. At the same time despatches were sent to count Girolamo, which were forwarded by Zenino the courier, to Forli. On the eleventh, Zenino returned from the count, with letters to the pope and the cardinal S. Giorgio, which were sent to Rome by the Milanese post. On the same day, after mass, all the children of the family received confirmation, excepting Messire Giovanni. On the fifteenth, at the sixth hour of the night, an answer was received from Rome, that the pope had some difficulty in giving the archbishoprick to Messire Giovanni, on account of his youth. This answer was immediately despatched to the king of France. On the

* Fabronii, vita Laur. Med. in adnot. 298.

† Poggio a Cajano, a seat of Lorenzo de' Medici.

twentieth, we received news from Lionetto, *that the archbishop was not dead!* On the first day of March, 1484, the abbot of Passignano died, and a message was despatched to Giovanni Vespucci, the Florentine ambassador at Rome, that he should endeavour to prevail on the pope to give the abbey to Messire Giovanni. On the second, he took possession of it under the authority of the state, by virtue of the reservation granted to him by Sixtus IV., and which was afterwards confirmed by Innocent VIII., when my son Piero went to pay him obedience at Rome, on his elevation to the pontificate." It would not be difficult to declaim against the corruptions of the Roman see, and the absurdity of conferring ecclesiastical preferments upon a child; but in the estimation of an impartial observer, it is a matter of little moment whether such preferment be bestowed upon an infant who is unable, or an adult who is unwilling, to perform the duties of his office, and who, in fact, at the time of his appointment, neither intends, nor is expected, ever to bestow upon them any share of his attention.

The death of Sixtus IV., which happened on the thirteenth day of August, 1484, and the elevation to the pontificate of Giambattista Cibò, by the name of Innocent VIII., opened to Lorenzo the prospect of speedy and more important advancement for his son. Of the numerous livings conferred on this young ecclesiastic, a particular account has been preserved;[7] but the views of Lorenzo were directed towards still higher preferment. In the month of November he despatched his eldest son Piero to Rome, accompanied by his uncle Giovanni Tornabuoni, with directions to promote as much as possible the interests of his brother Giovanni. In the instructions of Lorenzo to his envoys at Rome, the same object was strongly insisted on; and such arguments were constantly suggested, as were most likely to induce the pope to nominate Giovanni de' Medici, on the first opportunity, a member of the sacred college.

In the mean time Lorenzo thought it advisable to strengthen the friendly connexion which already subsisted between himself and the pope, by an union between their families. Before his adopting an ecclesiastical life, Innocent had several children; the eldest of whom, Francesco Cibò,

was married, in the year 1487, to Maddalena, one of the daughters of Lorenzo, a woman of great beauty and accomplishments, and who lived to share the honours enjoyed by her family in the elevation of her brother. Besides the inducements to this measure, which the pope probably found in the increasing influence and authority of Lorenzo de' Medici, the near relationship which subsisted between Maddalena and the family of the Orsini, was a powerful motive with him to conclude the match. The event was such as the pope expected. The hostility between him and the Orsini speedily subsided; and he found, on many subsequent occasions, the high importance of their attachment and their services.

As the advancement of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of the purple was the fortunate event which led the way to his future elevation, and to the important consequences of that elevation to the Christian world, it may not be uninteresting to trace the steps by which he acquired, so early in life, that high rank. This we are enabled to do with great accuracy, from the letters of Lorenzo, and his confidential correspondents, the originals of which are preserved in the archives of Florence, and which exhibit such a degree of policy and assiduity on the part of that great man, as could scarcely fail of success.

From these it appears, that early in the year 1488, the pope, who had not before received any additional members into the college, had formed the intention of making a promotion of cardinals, and had communicated his purpose to Lorenzo, to whom he had also transmitted a list of names, for his remarks and approbation. Such however was the inactivity of the pontiff, that he delayed from time to time the execution of his plan. From the age and infirmities of the pope, Lorenzo was fearful that this measure might be wholly frustrated; and as he had already formed the design of procuring the name of his son to be included among those of the new cardinals, he directed his envoy at Rome, Giovanni Lanfredini, to lose no time in prevailing upon the pope to carry his intentions into effect. "I observe," says he, in a letter which bears date the sixteenth day of June, 1488,* what you

* MSS Florent.

mention respecting the promotion of cardinals, to which I shall briefly reply, that this event ought not to be delayed longer than can possibly be avoided; for when his holiness has completed it, he will be another pope than he has hitherto been—because he is yet a head without limbs, surrounded by the creatures of others; whereas he will then be surrounded by his own. You will therefore importune and exhort him to adopt this determination as soon as possible, because there is danger in delay. * * As to the persons nominated, I approve all those whose names are marked with a point; they are the same as you before mentioned to me. It seems better to lay before him many, that he may have an opportunity of selection. He may also gratify me if he thinks proper."

A few months afterwards, when a promotion of cardinals was positively determined on, Lorenzo became more strenuous in his exertions, and omitted no solicitations or persuasions which might obtain the favour, not only of the pontiff himself, but of the cardinals, whose concurrence was, it appears, indispensable.[8] In a letter to the pope, which bears date the first day of October, 1488, he most earnestly entreats, that if he is ever to receive any benefit from his holiness, it may be granted to him on that occasion, and requests his favour with no less fervency than he would from God the salvation of his soul.* With equal eagerness, and to this, or a similar effect, he addressed himself to all the members of the sacred college, whose interest he thought essential to his success. Where he could not obtain an absolute promise of support, he considered it as of great importance to have prevented opposition. "You appear to me," says he to Lanfredini, "to have done no little in removing the objections of * * *. If you cannot induce him to proceed further, I wish you to thank him for this; and assure him, that knowing his inclination, I shall owe to him the same obligation for it, as I shall to others for their positive favours. At the same time, if it were possible, I should be highly gratified by his assistance." On this important occasion Lorenzo availed himself greatly of the services of the cardinal Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, and of Roderigo Borgia, then vice-chancellor of the holy see. "I reply," says he, addressing himself to Lanfredini, "in a

* Fabr. in vita Leon. X. adnot. 245, et App. No. I.

letter under my own hand to the vice-chancellor and Monsig. Ascanio. The letter which they have written to me, and the trouble which, as you inform me, Monsig. Ascanio takes every day in my behalf, merit other returns than words. I well know, both from your information and my own reflections, where my honour and my hopes would have remained, had they not been brought to life by him, and by those whom his relationship, friendship, and connexions, have obtained for me. The difficulty of this business, and his constant diligence and attention, render the benefits he has conferred on us so important, that they oblige not only me and M. Giovanni, but all those who belong to us; for I consider this favour in no other light than if I were raised from death to life." He expresses himself respecting the vice-chancellor with equal gratitude, desiring Lanfredini to assure him of the sense he entertains of his favours, which he cannot do himself, "because in effect he feels the obligation too strongly, and is more desirous of repaying it, when in his power, than he can possibly express."

At this critical juncture, when every hour was pregnant with expectation, the hopes of Lorenzo were cruelly, though unintentionally, disappointed by Lanfredini, who, having a confidence of success, wished to be informed by Lorenzo in what manner he should announce the great event. To this end he inclosed to Lorenzo the form of a public letter, which it might be proper to send, on such an occasion, for the inspection of the citizens at large. Lorenzo replies,* "You will have time enough to send for the form in which it may be proper to announce the news. The method you took had however nearly given rise to a great error; for, as I read your inclosure before your letter, and there did not appear either the word *copy*, or any other indication to that effect, I thought the information true, and was very near making it public. It seems to me of little consequence in what manner you communicate it. The business is here so publicly spoken of, that it cannot be more so. You can therefore send no intelligence that is not expected by every one except myself; for I know not how it is, but I have never been able to confide in the event." This however seems to have been the last

* MSS. Florent. App. No. VII.

agony which Lorenzo had to sustain in this long conflict; for, on the ninth day of the same month, he received the consolatory intelligence, that his son was elevated to the dignity of a cardinal, under the title of S. Maria in Domenica.[9] His feelings on this occasion are best expressed in his own words, addressed to his envoy at Rome:*—"Thanks be to God for the good news which I received yesterday at the ninth hour, respecting Messire Giovanni, and which appeared to me so much the greater, as it was the less expected, it seeming so far above my merits, and so difficult in itself, as to be esteemed impossible. I have reason to hold in remembrance all those who have assisted me in this business, and shall leave a charge that they be not forgotten by those who may succeed me; this being the greatest honour that ever our house experienced." * * * "I know not whether his holiness may be displeased with the demonstrations of joy and festivity which have taken place in Florence on this occasion; but I never saw a more general, or a more sincere exultation. Many other expressions of it would have occurred, but I did all in my power to prevent them, although I could not wholly succeed. I mention this, because the elevation of M. Giovanni was intended to have remained for the present a secret; but you have made it so public in Rome, that we can scarcely incur blame in following your example; nor have I been able to decline the congratulations of the city, even to the lowest ranks. If what I have done be improper, I can only say that it was impossible for me to prevent it, and that I greatly wish for instructions how to conduct myself in future, as to what kind of life and manners M. Giovanni ought to observe; and what his dress and his attendants ought to be; for I should be extremely sorry to begin to repay this immense debt, by doing any thing contrary to the intentions of his holiness. In the mean time, M. Giovanni remains with me in the house, which from yesterday has been continually full of people. Advise me therefore what is to be done with him. Inform me also, when you next write, what signature or seal he ought to use. In expediting the bull, you will, I am sure, use all due diligence, and will transmit it as soon as possible, for the satisfaction of our friends. I send you herewith the measure

* Fabroni.

of his height, but in my eyes he appears to have grown and changed since yesterday. I trust in God you will receive due honour for your exertions, and that his holiness will be pleased with what he has done. I wish for your opinion whether I should send my son Piero, as I intended; because it seems to me that a favour of this magnitude calls for no less than that I should pay a visit to Rome myself."[10]

Politiano, to whom the early education of Giovanni de' Medici had been entrusted, thought it also incumbent on himself upon this occasion, to address to the pope a letter, in which he has exhibited the character and early acquirements of his pupil in a very favourable light.[11] Some allowance must however be made for the partiality of the tutor, and perhaps for the blandishments of the courtier; nor are we implicitly to believe, either that Louis XI. was the most pious of kings, or that Giovanni de' Medici, although from various circumstances his proficiency was beyond his years, had realised in himself

"That faultless monster which the world ne'er saw."

It must however be acknowledged, that if Lorenzo de' Medici was indefatigable in obtaining for his son the ... ient ... and to and emoluments of ecclesiastical preferment, he displayed equal degree of assiduity in rendering him worthy ... siastical The early docility and seriousness of Giovanni, probably ficiency which he had made in his studies, and the ... nzo de' tions with which he had been honoured, entitled him to ... of the as an associate in those meetings of men of genius and learning, which continually took place in the palace of the Medici. Among the professors of the Platonic philosophy, the chief place was held by Marsilio Ficino; the authority of Aristotle was supported by his countryman and warm admirer, Joannes Argyropylus; in classical and polite literature, Politiano had revived the age of Augustus; whilst Giovanni Pico of Mirandula, united in himself the various kinds of knowledge which were allotted to others only in distinct portions. Conversant as Giovanni de' Medici was with these men, and residing under the eye of his father, to whom every production of literature and of art was submitted, as to an infallible judge, it was impossible that the

seeds of knowledge and of taste, if indeed they existed, should not be early developed in his mind. Hence it is probable that the business of education was to him, as indeed it ought to be to every young person, the lightest amusement and gratification; and that he never experienced those restraints and severities which create a disgust to learning, instead of promoting it. Amidst the extensive collections of pictures, sculptures, medals, and other specimens of ancient and modern art, acquired by the wealth and long-continued attention of his ancestors, he first imbibed that relish for productions of this nature, and that discriminating judgment of their merits, which rendered him, in his future life, no less the arbiter of the public taste in works of art, than he was of the public creed in matters of religion.

The youthful mind of Giovanni de' Medici was not, however, wholly left to the chance of promiscuous cultivation. Besides the assistance of Politiano, who had the chief direction of his studies, he is known to have received instructions in the Greek language from Demetrius Chalcondyles and Arcadius Ægineta,* both of whom were Greeks by birth. His education was also promoted by Bernardo Michelozzi, who was one of the private secretaries of his father, and was intimately skilled both in ancient and modern literature; but the principal director in his riper studies was Bernardo Dovizi, better known by the name of Bernardo da Bibbiena. This elegant scholar and indefatigable statesman was born of a respectable family at Bibbiena, in the year 1470, and was sent, at the age of nine years, to pursue his studies in Florence. His family connexions introduced him into the house of the Medici, and such was the assiduity with which he availed himself of the opportunities of instruction there afforded him, that at the age of seventeen he had attained a great facility of Latin composition, and was soon afterwards selected by Lorenzo as one of his private secretaries. When the honours of the church were bestowed on Giovanni de' Medici, the principal care of his pecuniary concerns was intrusted to Bernardo; in the execution of which employment he rendered his patron such important services, and

* Menck. vita Polit. p. 98. Lettres de Langius, ap. Bayle, Dict. Art. Leo. X.

conducted himself with so much vigilance and integrity, that some have not hesitated to ascribe to him, in a considerable degree, the future eminence of his pupil. Notwithstanding the serious occupations in which Bernardo was engaged, in his temper and manners he was affable, and even facetious, as appears by the representation given of him by Castiglione, in his "Libro del Cortegiano," in which he is introduced as one of the interlocutors. Nor did he neglect his literary studies, of which he gave a sufficient proof in his celebrated comedy, "La Calandra," which, although not, as some have asserted, the earliest comedy which modern times have produced, deservedly obtained great reputation for its author, and merits, even at this day, no small share of approbation. The high rank which Bernardo obtained in the church, and the distinguished part which he acted in the political transactions of the times, will frequently present him to our notice. Of his character and talents, different opinions have been entertained: but his title to eminent merit must be admitted, whilst he claims it under the sanction of Ariosto.*

But whilst it may be presumed that the subsequent honours and success of Giovanni de' Medici are to be attributed in a great degree to his early education, and to the advantages which he possessed under his paternal roof, it must be allowed that those defects in his ecclesiastical character, which were afterwards so apparent, were probably derived from the same source. The associates of Lorenzo de' Medici were much better acquainted with the writings of the poets, and the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, than with the dogmas of the Christian faith. Of the followers of Plato, Lorenzo was at this time considered as the chief. He had himself arranged and methodized a system of theology which inculcates opinions very different from those of the Romish church, and in a forcible manner points out the object of supreme adoration as one and indivisible.[12] Hence it is not unlikely that the young cardinal was induced to regard with less reverence those doctrinal points of the established creed, the belief of which is considered as indispensable to the clerical character; and hence he might have acquired such ideas of the Supreme Being, and of the duties

* Orland. Furioso, Cant. xxvi. st. 48.

of his intelligent creatures, as, in counteracting the spirit of bigotry, rendered him liable to the imputation of indifference in matters of religion. A rigid economy in his household was certainly not one of the first qualifications of Lorenzo, and the example of the father might perhaps counteract his precept in the estimation of the son; whose liberality in future life, too often carried to profusion, reduced him to the necessity of adopting those measures for the supplying his exigencies, which gave rise to consequences of the utmost importance to the Christian world. From the splendid exhibitions which were frequently displayed in the city of Florence, he probably derived that relish for similar entertainments which he is supposed to have carried, during his pontificate, to an indecorous, if not to a culpable excess; whilst the freedom and indecency of the songs with which the spectacles of Florence were accompanied,* of many of which Lorenzo was himself the author, could scarcely have failed to banish at intervals that gravity of carriage which the young cardinal was directed to support, and to sow those seeds of dissipation which afterwards met with a more suitable climate in the fervid atmosphere of Rome.

The nomination of Giovanni de' Medici to the dignity of cardinal, was accompanied by a condition that he should not assume the insignia of his rank, or be received as a member of the college, for the space of three years. This restriction was considered by Lorenzo as very unfavourable to his views. His remonstrances were however ineffectual; and as the pontiff had expressed his wishes, that during this probationary interval, Giovanni should pursue the studies of theology and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, the young cardinal left Florence, and repaired to Pisa, where, by the exertions of Lorenzo, the academy had lately been re-established with great splendour. At this place he had the advantage of receiving instructions from Filippo Decio and Bartolommeo Sozzini, the most celebrated professors of civil and pontifical law in Italy. Whilst resident in Florence, he had frequently visited the monastery of Camaldoli, where he formed an intimacy with Pietro Delfino, and Paullo Justiniano; the former of whom

* The Canti Carnascialeschi, and Canzone a ballo, of which some account is given in the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici.

he regarded as his model and instructor, the latter as a second parent.[13] The advantages which he received in his youth from this society, were not forgotten in his riper years, when he conferred many favours on the monastery, acknowledging with great satisfaction, that "he had not only spent much of his time, but had almost received his education there."

Whilst Giovanni de' Medici, by a constant intercourse with men of rank, talents, and learning, was thus acquiring a fund of information, and a seriousness of deportment much beyond his years, his father was indefatigable in his endeavours to prevail on the pope to shorten the period of his probation. Piero Alamanni, one of the Florentine envoys at Rome, in a letter which bears date the eighth day of January, 1490,* thus addresses Lorenzo. "I made my acknowledgments to his holiness for the favours received from him in the person of M. Giovanni, giving him to understand how agreeable they were to all the citizens of Florence, and how highly they esteemed the obligation. I then ventured, in terms of the utmost respect and civility, to touch upon that part of the business, the accomplishment of which is so earnestly desired, the public assumption of M. Giovanni; alleging all the reasons which you suggested to me, but at the same time assuring him that the city of Florence, and you in particular, would be perfectly satisfied with his determination. In reply he spoke at considerable length: in the first place observing, that the mode which he had prescribed was intended to answer the best purposes, as he had before explained by means of Pier Filippo (Pandolfini). He then entered on the commendation of M. Giovanni, and spoke of him as if he had been his own son, observing, that he understood that he had conducted himself with great propriety at Pisa, and had obtained the superiority in some disputation, which seemed to give his holiness great pleasure. At last he expressed himself thus: 'Leave the fortunes of M. Giovanni to me, for I consider him as my own son, and shall perhaps make his promotion public when you least expect it; for it is my intention to do much more for his interest that I shall now express.'" In order to promote this business, and to try the temper of the cardinals,

* Fabr. in vita Laur. Med. in adnot. p. 301.

Lorenzo despatched to Rome his kinsman Rinaldo Orsini, archbishop of Florence, but he derived no advantage from this measure; and indeed, from the letters of the good prelate on this subject, it appears that he was but ill qualified for the intrigues of a court. The motives which induced Innocent to persevere in the terms which he had prescribed, are more fully disclosed in a letter from Pandolfini to Lorenzo, dated the nineteenth day of October, 1490;[14] from which it appears, that the pope could not admit Giovanni into the college of cardinals without either giving offence to others who had not been received, or receiving the whole, which he did not think proper to do; as he considered the state of suspense in which the college was kept, as favourable to his views and interests.

During the early years of Giovanni de' Medici, he had a constant companion and fellow student in his cousin Giulio, the natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, who had been assassinated in the horrid conspiracy of the Pazzi. The disposition of Giulio leading him when young to adopt a military life, he had been early enrolled among the knights of Jerusalem; and as this profession united the characters of the soldier and the priest, he was soon afterwards, at the solicitation of Lorenzo de' Medici, endowed by Ferdinand, king of Naples, with the rich and noble priory of Capua. Grave in his deportment, steady in his family attachments, and vigilant in business, Giulio devoted himself in a particular manner to the fortunes of Giovanni, and became his chief attendant and adviser throughout all the vicissitudes of his early life. On the elevation of Giovanni to the pontificate, the services of Giulio, who was soon afterwards raised to the rank of cardinal, became yet more important; and he is, with great reason, supposed not only to have carried into execution, but to have suggested, many of the political measures adopted by Leo, and to have corrected the levity and prodigality of the pope by his own austerity, prudence, and regularity. It did not, however, appear, on the subsequent elevation of Giulio to the pontificate, by the name of Clement VII., that he possessed in so eminent a degree those qualities for which the world had given him credit; and, perhaps, the genius and talents of Leo had contributed no less towards establish-

ing the reputation of Giulio, than the industry and vigilance of the latter had concurred in giving credit to the administration of Leo X.

The long-expected day at length arrived, which was to confirm to Giovanni de' Medici his high dignity, and to admit him among the princes of the Christian Church. The ceremonial of the investiture was intrusted to Matteo Bosso, superior of the monastery at Fiesole, whose probity and learning had recommended him to the favour of Lorenzo de' Medici, and who has thus recorded the particulars of the investiture, which took place on the ninth day of March, 1492. "On the evening of the preceding day, Giovanni ascended the hill of Fiesole to the monastery, simply clad, and with few companions. In the morning, being Sunday, Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula, and Jacopo Salviati, who had married Lucretia, one of the daughters of Lorenzo, arrived at the monastery with a notary, and accompanied the young cardinal to the celebration of mass, where he took the holy sacrament with great devotion and humility. The superior then bestowed his benediction on the sacred vestments, and receiving the bull or brief of the pope, declared that the time therein limited for the reception of the cardinal was expired; expressing at the same time his most fervent vows for the honour of the church, and the welfare of the cardinal, his father, and his country. He then invested him with the *pallium*, or mantle, to which he added the *biretum*, or cap, usually worn by cardinals, and the *galerus*, or hat, the distinctive emblem of their dignity, accompanying each with appropriate exhortations, that he would use them to the glory of God, and his own salvation; after which the friars of the monastery chaunted at the altar the hymn, Veni Creator." The cardinal having thus received a portion of the apostolic powers, immediately tried their efficacy, by bestowing an indulgence on all those who had attended at the ceremony, and on all who should, on the anniversary of that day, visit the altar of Fiesole. The company then retired to a repast; after which Piero de' Medici, the elder brother of the cardinal, arrived from the city, accompanied by a party of select friends, and mounted on a horse of extraordinary size and spirit, caparisoned with gold. In the mean time, an immense multitude, as well on

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horseback as on foot, had proceeded from the gate of S. Gallo, towards Fiesole; but having received directions to stop at the bridge on the Mugnone, they were there met by the cardinal, who was conducted by the prelates and chief magistrates of the city, towards the palace of the Medici. On his arrival at the church of the Annunciata, he descended from his mule, and paid his devotions at the altar. In passing the church of the Reparata, he performed the same ceremony, and proceeded from thence to his paternal roof. The crowds of spectators, the acclamations, illuminations, and fire-works, are all introduced by the good abbot into his faithful picture; and the rejoicings on this event may be supposed to be similar to those which celebrate, with equal delight, a royal marriage, a blood-stained victory, or a long-wished for peace.

On the twelfth day of March, 1492, the cardinal de' Medici quitted Florence, for the purpose of paying his respects to the pope, and establishing his future residence at Rome. He was accompanied to the distance of two miles from the city by a great number of the principal inhabitants, and on the evening of the same day he arrived at his abbey of Passignano, where he took up his abode for the night. His retinue remained at the neighbouring town of Poggibonzo, whence they proceeded, the next morning, before the cardinal, to Siena. The inhabitants of that place being thus apprised of his approach, sent a deputation to attend him into the city, where for several days he experienced every possible mark of attention and respect, which he returned with a degree of urbanity and kindness that gained him the esteem and affection of all who saw him. From Siena he proceeded, by easy stages, towards Rome, having, on his way, been entertained by his relations of the Orsini family. At Viterbo he was met by his brother-in-law, Francesco Cibo, son to the pope, who, with many attendants, had waited his approach, and accompanied him to Rome, where he arrived on the twenty-second day of March, in the midst of a most abundant shower of rain. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, he was met by many persons of rank, who attended him to the monastery of S. Maria in Popolo, where he reposed the first night after his arrival. On the following morning, all the

cardinals then in Rome came to visit him, and immediately led him to the pope, who received him in full consistory, and gave him the holy kiss; after which he was greeted with a similar mark of respect from each of the cardinals, and his attendants were permitted to kiss the feet of the pope. On his return to his residence, the rain still continued to pour down in copious torrents, and as the luxurious convenience of a modern chariot was then unknown, the cardinal, and his numerous attendants, were almost overwhelmed in their peregrinations. In the performance of these ceremonies, we are assured that he surpassed the expectations of the spectators; and that, in his person and stature, no less than by the decorum of his behaviour, and the propriety of his language, he displayed the gravity of a man, and supported the dignity of a prelate. Such are the authentic particulars of the first entry into Rome of one who was destined to revive her ancient splendour. The dignity of history may, perhaps, reject the unimportant narrative of processions and ceremonials; but the character of an individual is often strongly marked by his conduct on such occasions; and the interest which that conduct generally excites, is a sufficient proof that it is considered by the public as no improbable indication of his future life and fortunes.

Notwithstanding the numerous avocations which engaged the cardinal on his arrival at Rome, he did not fail to communicate to his father every particular which occurred.[15] In reply, Lorenzo transmitted to him that excellent and affectionate letter of paternal advice, which may with confidence be referred to as a proof of the great talents, and uncommon sagacity of its author; and which, as having been written only a very short time before his death, has been, not inelegantly, compared to the last musical accents of the dying swan.*

At the time when Giovanni de' Medici took his seat in the sacred college, it was filled by many men of acknowledged abilities, but of great diversity of character; several of whom afterwards acted an important part in the affairs of Europe. The eldest member of the college was Roderigo

* Fabr. in vita Laur. Med. App. p. 312; and for this letter, v. Life of Lor. de' Med. 8vo. edit.

Borgia, who had enjoyed upwards of thirty-five years the dignity of the purple, to which he had, for a long time past, added that of vice-chancellor of the holy see. He was descended from the Lenzuoli, a respectable family of the city of Valencia in Spain, but on the elevation to the pontificate of his maternal uncle, Alfonzo Borgia, by the name of Calixtus III., he was called to Rome, where changing his name of Lenzuoli to that of Borgia, he was first appointed archbishop of Valencia, and afterwards cardinal of S. Nicolo, being then only twenty-five years of age. The private life of Roderigo had been a perpetual disgrace to his ecclesiastical functions. In adhering to his vow of celibacy, he had alleviated its severity by an intercourse with a Roman lady of the name of Vanozza, who, by the beauty of her person, and the attractions of her manners, had long possessed the chief place in his affections. His attachment to her appears however to have been sincere and uniform, and although his connexion was necessarily disavowed, he regarded her as a legitimate wife. By her he had several children, to whose education and advancement he paid great attention. Notwithstanding the irregularity of his private life, his acquaintance with the civil law, and with the politics of the times, had procured him the honour of many important embassies, on one of which he had been deputed by the pope to accommodate the differences that had risen between the kings of Portugal and of Aragon, in respect of their claims on the crown of Castile. Roderigo, was not, however, formed by nature for a mediator, and returning without having effected the object of his mission, he had nearly perished by shipwreck, in the vicinity of Pisa, one of the vessels which accompanied him having been wholly lost in a violent storm, with one hundred and eighty persons on board, among whom were three bishops, and many other men of rank and learning. If the character of Roderigo, who afterwards became supreme pontiff by the name of Alexander VI., is to be taken on the implicit credit of contemporary historians, this calamity was not greatly alleviated by the escape of the cardinal; on the contrary, had he shared the same fate, his destruction might perhaps have been a sufficient compensation to the world for the loss of all the rest.

Another member of the college was Francesco Piccolomini, the nephew of Pius II., the celebrated Æneas Sylvius. He had long enjoyed his dignity, having been created cardinal by his uncle in the year 1460, when only seventeen years of age. The purity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and his zeal in discharging the duties of his station, formed a striking contrast to the profligacy and effrontery of Roderigo Borgia, and occasioned him to be chosen by his colleagues to heal those wounds which Roderigo had, in the course of his pontificate, inflicted on the Christian world; but the short space of time in which he administered the affairs of the church, under the name of Pius III., frustrated the hopes which had been formed on his elevation. Among those who had been nominated by Sixtus IV. was Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincula. The ambition and military spirit of this prelate seemed to have marked him out for a different employment; but in those days the crozier and the sword were not incompatible, and Giuliano made his way by the latter, rather than the former, to the supreme dignity which he afterwards enjoyed, by the name of Julius II. By the same nomination there still sat in the college, Raffaelle Riario, cardinal of S. Giorgio, who, under the directions of his great uncle Sixtus IV. had acted a principal part in the bloody conspiracy of the Pazzi. In assuming his seat among the fathers of the Christian Church, Giovanni de' Medici therefore found himself associated with one who had assisted in the murder of his uncle, and attempted the life of his father; but the youth and inexperience of Riario, had alleviated the enormity of a crime perpetrated under the sanction of the supreme pontiff, and subsequent transactions had occurred between the families of the pope and of the Medici, which might have obliterated the remembrance of this event, had not the pallid countenance of the cardinal occasionally recalled it to mind. Among those of royal or of noble birth, the principal rank, after the death of Giovanni d'Aragona, son of Ferdinand, king of Naples, was due to Ascanio, brother of Lodovico Sforza, who supported the dignity of his office with great splendour. The families of the Orsini and the Colonna generally maintained a powerful interest in the consistory, and the noble family of the Caraffa, which has long ranked as

one of the principal in the kingdom of Naples, had also a representative in the person of Oliviero Caraffa, who had been nominated by Paul II., and was one of the most respectable members of the college.

Among the cardinals who had been nominated by Innocent VIII. at the same time with Giovanni de' Medici, was Pierre d'Aubusson, grand master of Rhodes, upon whom that honour had been conferred as a reward for having surrendered into the custody of the pope, an illustrious Turkish fugitive, who had been compelled by the rage of fraternal resentment, to seek for safety among those of a different nation and a different faith. On the death of Mahomet, in the year 1482, that ferocious conqueror left his extensive dominions to his two sons, Bajazet and Zizim. Bajazet was tempted to avail himself of the powerful plea of primogeniture, to the exclusion of his brother, who had endeavoured, by personal merit, to compensate for the pretensions of seniority. The principal leaders of the Turkish troops were divided in their attachments to the two brothers, and perhaps that circumstance, rather than the courage or conduct of the duke of Calabria, delivered Italy from the devastation with which it was threatened by the Turks, when they had possessed themselves of the city of Otranto. After a struggle of some years, and several bloody engagements, victory declared for the elder brother, and Zizim, to avoid the bowstring, threw himself into the hands of the grand master of Rhodes, whilst his wife and children sought a refuge in Egypt, under the protection of the Sultan. The reception which he met with was highly honourable both to himself and his protector; but the grand master, conceiving that his longer continuance at Rhodes might draw down upon the island the whole power of the Turkish state, sent him to France, whence he was soon afterwards transferred to Rome, into which city he made his public entry on the thirteenth day of March, 1489. Considerations of policy, if not of humanity, induced Innocent to receive him with great kindness; and Francesco Cibò, with a long train of nobility, was deputed to attend him into the city. On his being admitted to an audience of the pope, in full consistory, he deranged the solemnity of the ceremony; for notwithstanding the instructions which he had received,

to bend his knees, and kiss the feet of his holiness, he marched firmly up him, and applied that mark of respect to his shoulder. A chamber in the apostolic palace was allotted for his residence, and a guard appointed, which, under the pretext of doing him honour, was directed to prevent his escape. In this situation an attempt was made to destroy the Turkish prince by Cristoforo Castagno, a nobleman of the Marca d'Ancona, who, having entered into stipulations for an immense reward, by the terms of which, among other advantages, he was to be invested with the government of the island of Negropont, repaired to Rome, with the design of executing his treacherous purpose. Some suspicions, however, arose; and it being discovered that he had recently returned from Constantinople, he was apprehended by order of the pope, and confessed, upon the rack, his atrocious intentions. Those apprehensions which Bajazet could not extinguish whilst his brother was living, he endeavoured to alleviate by prevailing on the pope to retain him in secure custody, for which he repaid him by the bribery of Christian relics, and the more substantial present of considerable sums of money; and Zizim accordingly remained a prisoner at Rome until the ensuing pontificate of Alexander VI.[15]

Notwithstanding the tranquillity which Italy had for some time enjoyed, the rumours of approaching calamities were not unfrequent. Those alarms and denunciations which have generally preceded great public commotions, although they may not arise from any supernatural interposition, are not always to be wholly disregarded. On the approach of the storm, the cattle, by a native instinct, retire to shelter; and the human mind may experience a secret dread, resulting from a concurrence of circumstances, which, although not amounting to demonstration, may afford strong conviction of approaching evils, to a person of a warm and enthusiastic temperament. Those impressions which he is ready to impart, the public is prepared to receive; and the very credulity of mankind is itself a proof of impending danger. Whilst the city of Florence trembled at the bold and terrific harangues of Savonarola, who was at this time rising to the height of his fatal popularity, a stranger is said to have made his appearance at Rome, who, in the habit of a mendicant, and with the

appearance of an idiot, ran through the streets, bearing a crucifix, and foretelling, in a strain of forcible eloquence, the disasters that were shortly to ensue; particularly to Florence, Venice, and Milan. With a precision, however, which a prudent prognosticator should avoid, he ventured to fix the exact time when these disorders were to commence; and had the still greater folly to add, that an angelic shepherd would shortly appear, who would collect the scattered flock of true believers into the heavenly fold. But the prescribed period having elapsed, the predictions of the enthusiast were disregarded; and he had the good fortune to sink into his original obscurity, without having experienced that fate, which has generally attended alike the prophets and the pseudo-prophets of all ages and all nations.

CHAPTER II.

1492.

State of Literature in Rome—Pomponius Lætus—Callimachus Experiens—Paolo Cortese—Serafino D'Aquila—State of Literature in other parts of Italy—Neapolitan Academy—Giovanni Pontano—His Latin Poetry compared with that of Politiano—Giacopo Sanazzaro—His Arcadia—and other Writings—Enmity between the Neapolitan and Florentine scholars—Cariteo—Other Members of the Neapolitan Academy—State of Literature in Ferrara—The two Strozzi—Boiardo—Ariosto—Francesco Cieco—Nicolo Lelio Cosmico—Guidubaldo da Montefeltri, Duke of Urbino—Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua—Battista Mantuano—Lodovico Sforza encourages men of talents—Lionardo da Vinci—Eminent Scholars at the Court of Milan—The Bentivogli of Bologna—Codrus Urceus—Petrus Crinitus—Aldo Manuzio, his acquaintance with Alberio Pio, Lord of Carpi, and Pico of Mirandula—His motives for undertaking to print and publish the Works of the Ancients—Establishes his Press at Venice—and founds an academy there—Progress and success of his undertaking.

Although many causes concurred to render the *City*, as Rome was then emphatically called, the chief place in Italy, yet it was not at this time distinguished by the number or proficiency of those scholars whom it produced or patronized. An attempt had been made in the pontificate of Paul II. to establish an academy, or society for the research of antiquities; but the jealousy of that haughty and ignorant priest had defeated its object, and consigned the wretched scholars to the dungeon or the rack. Among those who had survived his barbarity was Julius Pomponius Lætus, who, by his various writings and indefatigable labours, had at this early period been of no inconsiderable service to the cause of literature. To the testamentary kindness of Bartolommeo Platina, who had been his companion in his studies, and his fellow-sufferer in his misfortunes, and who died in the year 1481, Pomponius was indebted for a commodious and handsome residence in Rome, surrounded with pleasant gardens

and plantations of laurel, where he yet lived at an advanced age, devoted to the society of his literary friends.[17] His associate, Filippo Buonaccorsi, better known by his academical name, Callimachus Experiens, had quitted Italy under the impressions of terror excited by the cruelty of Paul, and sought a refuge in Poland; where, under Casimir and John Albert, the successive sovereigns of that country, he enjoyed for several years some of the chief offices of the state. The distinguished favours bestowed on him by those princes could not fail of exciting the resentment of their subjects, who were jealous of the interference of a foreigner and a fugitive; but the virtue or the good fortune of Callimachus,* was superior to the attacks of his adversaries, and he retained his eminent station, with undiminished honour, to the close of his days.[18]

But although the misfortunes which had befallen this early institution, had considerably damped the spirit of improvement at Rome, yet the disaster was in some degree repaired by the talents of Paolo Cortese; who, at an early period of life, had signalized himself by his dialogue, "De hominibus doctis," which he had inscribed to Lorenzo de' Medici.[19] The approbation which Politiano expressed of this youthful production was such as that great scholar was seldom induced to bestow; not because he was jealous of the talents of others, but because he was sincere in his commendation of their works, and was enabled, by his own proficiency, to judge of their merits and defects. Some years afterwards, when Cortese was appointed one of the apostolic notaries, a new institution was formed by him, the members of which met under his own roof, and passed their time, without formal restrictions, either in the perusal of such works as his elegant library supplied, or in conversation on literary topics. Besides his treatise before mentioned, he was the author of many other works:[20] but his premature death prevented the world from reaping the full fruits of his talents and his labours.

Among those who attended the literary meetings of Cortese, was the poet Serafino d'Aquila. At a time when the Italian language was yet struggling to divest itself of its impurities and defects, the works of Serafino were not with-

out some share of merit. He was born at Aquila, in Abruzzo, of a respectable family, and passed a part of his youthful years in the court of the count of Potenza, where he acquired a knowledge of music. Returning to his native place, he applied himself for three years to the study of the works of Dante and of Petrarca, after which he accompanied the cardinal Ascanio Sforza to Rome. During his whole life Serafino seems to have changed the place of his residence as often as the favours of the great held out to him a sufficient inducement. Hence we find him successively in the service, or at the courts, of the king of Naples, the duke of Urbino, the marquis of Mantua, the duke of Milan, and, finally, of Cæsar Borgia. Nor must we wonder that Serafino was sought for as a companion, to alleviate the anxiety, or banish the languor of greatness; for he superadded to his talent for poetical composition, that of singing extempore verses to the lute, and was one of the most celebrated Improvvisatori of his time. This circumstance may sufficiently explain the reason of the superior degree of reputation which he obtained during his lifetime, to that which he has since enjoyed.[21]

Such was the state of literature, and the talents of its chief professors, in the city of Rome, at the time when the cardinal de' Medici took up his residence there; and it must be confessed that, notwithstanding the laudable exertions of the few distinguished scholars before mentioned, that place had not hitherto brought forth those fruits which might have been expected from the munificence of Nicolas V., and the example of Pius II. Nor is it to be denied, that in almost every other city of Italy, the interests of letters and of science were attended to with more assiduity than in the chief place in Christendom. At Naples an illustrious band of scholars had, under better auspices, instituted an academy, which had subsisted for many years in great credit. Of this the celebrated Pontano was at this time the chief director, whence it has usually been denominated the Academy of Pontano.[22] It was, however, originally established in the reign of Alfonso I., by Antonio Beccatelli, Bartolommeo Facio, Lorenzo Valla, and other eminent men, whom that patron of letters had attracted to his court. The place of assembly was denominated the

Portico, and being situated near the residence of Beccatelli, that distinguished scholar and favourite of Alfonso, was its earliest and most constant visitor.* After the death of Beccatelli, his friend and disciple Pontano was appointed chief of the academy, and under his direction it rose to a considerable degree of respectability.

Few scholars, who have owed their eminence merely to their talents, have enjoyed a degree of respect and dignity equal to Pontano. His writings, both in verse and prose, are extremely numerous; but, as they are wholly in the Latin language, he cannot be enumerated among those who at this period laboured, with so much assiduity and success, in the improvement of their native tongue. The versatility of his talents, and the extent of his scientific acquirements, are chiefly evinced by his works in prose:† in which he appears successively as a grammarian, a politician, an historian, a satirist, and a natural and moral philosopher. These writings are now, however, in a great degree, consigned to oblivion; nor is it difficult to account for the neglect which they have experienced. His grammatical treatise "De Aspiratione," in two books, instead of exhibiting a philosophical investigation of general rules, degenerates into an ill-arranged and tiresome catalogue of particular examples. Nor do we feel more inclined to indulge such a trial of our patience, on account of the instance which he alleges of the orator Messala, who wrote a whole book on the letter *s*. In natural philosophy his writings chiefly relate to the science of astronomy, in which he appears to have made great proficiency; but they are at the same time disgraced by a frequent mixture of judicial astrology; and afford a convincing proof that, when an author builds on false grounds, and reasons on false principles, the greater his talents are, the greater will be his absurdities. His moral treatises are indeed the most valuable of his writings; but they are injured by the unbounded fertility of his imagination, and exhibit rather all that can be said on the subject, than all that ought to be said. From some scattered passages it appears, however, that he had

* For some account of Beccatelli, *vide* Life of Lor. de' Medici.

† First collected and published in 3 vols. by Andrea d'Asola at Venice, 1518 and 1519, 8vo. afterwards at Basil. 1538.

formed an idea of laying a more substantial basis for philosophical inquiries than the world had theretofore known; and had obtained, though in dim and distant prospect, a glimpse of that nobler edifice which, about a century afterwards, was more fully displayed to the immortal Bacon, and in comparison with which the fabrics of the schoolmen, like the magic castles of romance, have vanished into air.

Of the satirical talents of Pontano, if we take his "Asinus" as a specimen, no very favourable opinion can be entertained.[23] His poetry is, however, entitled to great approbation, and will always rank him, if not the first, at least in the very first rank of modern Latin poets. Under his control, that language displays a facility, a grace, to which it had been for upwards of a thousand years a stranger; and in the series of Latin writers, his works may be placed next to those of the Augustan age, which they will not disgrace by their proximity. They display a great variety of elegiac, lyric, and epigrammatic productions; but his "Hendecasyllabi" are preferred to the rest of his writings. An eminent critic has not indeed hesitated to give Pontano the preference, in point of elegance, to Politiano himself.* Nor will a candid judge be inclined to oppose this opinion, as far as relates to ease and fluency of style; that of Pontano being uniformly graceful and unlaboured, whilst, in that of Politiano, an attempt may at times be perceived to force the genius of the language to the expression of his own ideas. But if an inquiry were to be instituted into the respective merits of these great men, this circumstance alone would not be sufficient to decide the question. The subjects on which Pontano has treated are mostly of a general nature: amatory verses, convivial invitations, or elegiac effusions. Even in his "Urania," or poem on the stars, and his "Hortus Hesperidum," or poem on the cultivation of the orange, he seldom treads at any great distance from the track of the ancients. His sentiments are therefore rather accommodated to the language, than the language to his sentiments. But with Politiano the case is reversed: with a more vigorous mind, and a wider range of thought, he disdained to be limited to

* "Politiano adhuc politior." Borrichius de poetis, ap. Blount, Censura authorum, 502.

perscriptive modes of expression, and in embodying his ideas, relied on his own genius. Hence, whilst Pontano is at one time an imitator of Virgil, and at another of Horace, Catullus, or Propertius, Politiano is himself an original, and owns no subservience to any of the great writers of antiquity; whom, however, he has shewn that he was capable of imitating, had he chosen it, with great exactness. Pontano may therefore be allowed to take the precedence of Politiano, with respect to the grace and facility of his verse, without detracting from the intrinsic merits of that sound scholar and very extraordinary man.[24]

Not less celebrated than the name of Pontano, is that of his friend and countryman, Sanazzaro, who is equally distinguished by the excellence of his Latin and Italian compositions. He was born at Naples, in the year 1458, of a respectable family, which claimed consanguinity with San Nazzaro, one of the saints of the Roman church.[25] Under the instructions of Giuniano Majo, Sanazzaro chiefly acquired the knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, the latter of which he cultivated in an eminent degree. On entering into the Neapolitan academy, he relinquished his appellation of Giacopo, and adopted the name of Actius Syncerus, by which he is usually known. The friendship of Pontano, and his own merits, recommended him at an early age to the favour of Ferdinand, king of Naples, and of his sons, Alfonso and Federigo, to whom, throughout all their calamities, he maintained an unshaken attachment. For the amusement of these princes he is said to have written several dramatic pieces in the Neapolitan dialect, which highly delighted the populace; but perhaps the earliest assignable date to any of his works is the year 1492, when the great events and changes which occurred in the world by the expulsion of the Moors from Grenada, and the discovery of Hispaniola by Columbus, attracted in a high degree the public attention in every part of Europe. It is indeed a singular coincidence, that in the same year in which the Spanish sovereigns freed their country from the opprobrium of a foreign yoke, they should themselves have commenced a similar invasion on the natural rights of others. The discovery of the new world gave rise to many singular and extravagant notions, which are striking proofs

of the credulity of the age.* But the conquest of Grenada was celebrated throughout all Christendom ;† and with particular splendour at Naples, the sovereigns of which were so nearly allied, both by blood and marriage, to the reigning family of Spain. On this occasion Sanazzaro produced a dramatic poem, which was performed before Alfonso, duke of Calabria, at Naples, on the fourth day of March, 1492.[26] Nor was it only by the labours of the pen that Sanazzaro obtained the favour of his great patrons. The contests which arose in Italy had called forth the military talents of Alfonso, who, after having expelled the Turks from Otranto, fought the battles of his country with various success. In these expeditions he was accompanied by Sanazzaro, who in his Latin poems frequently adverts to his warlike exploits, with the consciousness of one whose services have been neither unknown nor unimportant.

Of the writings of Sanazzaro in his native language, the most celebrated is the "Arcadia," which, for purity of style, and elegance of expression, is allowed to have excelled all that Italy had before produced.[27] This performance is also a species of drama, in which the interlocutors express themselves in verse; but every dialogue is preceded by an introduction, in a kind of poetical prose, the supposed dialect of Arcadian shepherds. If the applauses with which this piece was received, and the commendations bestowed upon it in the lifetime of the author, be considered as inadequate proofs of its merit, the numerous editions of it, which appeared in the course of the ensuing century, are a more unequivocal testimony of its excellence; and the latest historian of Italian literature acknowledges, that, after the lapse of three centuries, the "Arcadia" is justly esteemed as one of the most elegant compositions in the Italian language.‡ It must, however, be confessed, that this piece is not now read without some effort against that involuntary languor, which works of great length and little interest never fail to occasion. This

* Monaldeschi Commentarii Historici, lib. xvi. Bembo, lib. vi.

† An account of the rejoicings in London, on this occasion, may be found in Hollinshed.

‡ Tirab. vii. par. iii. p. 74. About sixty editions of the "Arcadia" appeared before the year 1600.

may, perhaps, be attributed to the alternate recurrence of prose and verse, a species of composition which has never succeeded in any age, or in any country, and which even the genius of La Fontaine could not raise into celebrity;* to the use of poetical prose, that hermaphrodite of literature, equally deprived of masculine vigour and of feminine grace; to the repetition of the *versi sdruccioli*, which terminate every line with a rapidity approaching to the ludicrous, and prevent that variety of pauses which is essential to numerous composition. If to these causes we add the very inartificial and almost unconnected plan of the poem, and the total want of variety in the sentiments and characters, we shall be at no loss to account for the present neglect of a work, which may, however, be esteemed as a production of uncommon merit at the time when it appeared, and as having contributed in an eminent degree to form and to refine the Italian tongue.

If, however, the "Arcadia" of Sanazzaro had never been written, his sonnets and lyric pieces would have secured to him the distinction of one of the chief poets that Italy has produced. It has, indeed, been supposed that if the increasing celebrity of Pietro Bembo had not deprived Sanazzaro of the hope of being considered as the principal restorer of Italian literature, he would have pursued that object with still greater energy and success.† The rivalship of these two eminent men, whilst it rather cemented than relaxed the friendship that subsisted between them, eventually led them to pursue, by a kind of tacit consent, each a different path to fame; and whilst Bembo persevered in cultivating his native tongue, Sanazzaro turned all his powers to the improvement of his talents for Latin poetry, in which department his productions will occur to our future notice.

When we advert to the great degree of attention paid to the cultivation of polite letters, both in Naples and in Florence, at this period, it may seem extraordinary that so little intercourse subsisted between the scholars in those places. In the "Epistolæ" of Politiano, we find, indeed, a letter from him to Pontano, on the death of Ferdinand of Naples, written in the most respectful and flattering terms;

* Les Amours de Psyche et de Cupidon.

† Crispo, Vita di San. p. 24, et not. 63.

but no answer to this letter appears in the collection, and as it was customary for Politiano to insert the replies of his friends, we may be assured, that either none was returned, or that it was not calculated to do much honour to the person to whom it was addressed. It also appears, that Pontano had, on some former occasion, excused himself from the task of correspondence, to which Politiano, with an unusual degree of condescension, replies, "you have my full consent, as long as I know you honour me with your esteem, not only not to reply to my letters, but even not to read them." This indifference on the part of Pontano, who has, on no occasion, introduced the name of Politiano in his works, may perhaps be taken as no equivocal indication of his disregard, whilst his intimacy with Scala and Marullus, the avowed enemies of Politiano, may serve to confirm the suspicion. But the works of Sanazzaro afford examples of more direct hostility. In the year 1489, Politiano published his "Miscellanea," in which he conjectures that Catullus, under the emblem of his sparrow, concealed an idea too indecent to be more fully expressed.* Why this observation should have excited the resentment of the Neapolitan scholars, who were by no means remarkable for the moral purity of their compositions, it is not easy to discover;[28] but among the epigrams of Sanazzaro are some verses addressed, "Ad Pulicianum," (a term of reproach of which Scala had set the example,) in which he with great severity alludes to this criticism, which he treats with the utmost ridicule and contempt.† Not satisfied with this attack, he returns to the charge; and, in another copy of verses, bestows on the object of his resentment the most unqualified abuse. In other parts of his works he inveighs against certain authors, who contaminate the precincts of Parnassus by their envy and malignity, among whom it is highly probable that he meant to include the Florentine scholar. As Politiano was, of all men living, the most unlikely to submit to these insults without a

* This he infers from the conclusion of an epigram of Martial. Polit. Miscel. lib. i. cap. 6.

† Sanazzar. Epig. lib. i. Ep. 61. A piece much more remarkable for its indecency than its wit, and infinitely more reprehensible than the passage to which it adverts.

reply, we may be allowed to conjecture that these hostile pieces, at whatever time they were written, were not made public till after his death.

Another member of the academy, and distinguished literary ornament of Naples, was the poet Cariteo, whose family name has been lost in his poetical appellation. He is said to have been a native of Barcelona, and it appears from his own writings, that he was connected by consanguinity with Massimo Corvino, bishop of Massa, who also held a place in the academy. Of his friendly intercourse with the first scholars and chief nobility of Naples, and even with the individuals of the reigning family there, his works afford innumerable instances, whilst in those of Sanazzaro and Pontano, he is frequently mentioned with particular affection and commendation. His writings, which are wholly in the Italian tongue, are characterized by a vigour of sentiment, and a genuine vein of poetry. Without rivalling the elegance of the Tuscan poets, they possess also a considerable share of ease and harmony. Some of these compositions refer, in a very particular manner, to the characters of the principal persons, and to the political events of the times.* The animosity of the Neapolitan scholars against those of Florence is further evinced by the writings of Cariteo. In one of his Canzoni, he insinuates, that the splendour of Dante and of Petrarca has eclipsed the fame of all their countrymen, an observation evidently intended to humiliate the present race of scholars, under a pretext of paying homage to the past; and in his "Risposta contra i malevoli," to whomsoever he meant to apply that appellation, he has exceeded Sanazzaro himself in expressions of his resentment and abuse.

The other members who composed the literary institution of Naples were arranged according to the different districts of the city, or the realm, and the society also associated to itself, as honorary members, the most eminent scholars in other parts of Europe.[2] Among those who contributed at this time to its credit was Andrea Matteo Acquaviva, duke of Atri, on whom all the academicians of Naples have bestowed the highest honours. Pontano dedicated to him his

* They were collected and published by his surviving friend, Pietro Summonte, at Naples, 1509, 4to.

two books "De rebus Cœlestibus;" Pietro Summonte inscribed to him all his works. He is celebrated in the poems of Sanazzaro, no less for his warlike exploits, than for his literary accomplishments. Alessandro de' Alessandri dedicated to him the first book of his "Geniales Dies," and Cariteo enumerates him among his particular friends. Of his writings there yet remain his commentaries, called by Paulo Giovio his Encyclopædia, and according to the last-mentioned author, four books of moral disquisitions, which, as he says, contain "Di bellissime Sottilezze;" but these are the same work, published under different titles. He lived to an advanced age, and distinguished himself, with various success, in the wars which soon after this period desolated his country. His example descended to his posterity; and the dukes of Atri are celebrated as an uninterrupted series of great and learned men. His brother, Belisario Acquaviva, duke of Nardi, was also a member of the society; and, as appears by his writings, attained great proficiency in those studies, to which he had been incited by the example of his near and illustrious relative,[30] whom he also rivalled in his military talents, and towards whom he displayed an act of magnanimity, which confers lasting honour on his memory.[31]

These noblemen were of the district of Nido;* as was also Trojano Cavanilla, count of Troja and Montella, another splendid ornament of the Neapolitan academy, to whom Sanazzaro has inscribed his poem, entitled "Salices;" and who, although not enumerated by the Italian historians among their authors, appears to have signalized himself by his researches into antiquity. From the same district was also Giovanni di Sangro, a Neapolitan patrician, to whom Sanazzaro, dying of unsuccessful love, commits the care of his poetical rights.†

Of the department of Capua were Girolamo Carbone, known to the world by his poetical writings, and frequently mentioned with particular applause by Pontano, Sanazzaro, and Cariteo; and Tristano Carraccioli, who is commemorated by Sanazzaro in his "Arcadia," and who has left a

* The origin of these divisions of the city of Naples, called by the inhabitants "Seggi," is fully explained by Giannone, lib. xx. cap. 4.

† Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 10.

brief memoir, in Latin, of his patron, with whom he appears to have lived on terms of great intimacy.

No one of the academicians was held in higher esteem for his judgment in matters of taste, than Francesco Poderico, or Puderico, of the district of Montagna. To him Pontano and Sanazzaro inscribed many of their works, and Pietro Summonte addressed to him, after the death of its author, the dialogue of Pontano, entitled "Aetius." Although deprived of sight, the talents of Poderico rendered him the delight of all his literary friends. Such was the respect paid to his opinion by Sanazzaro, that in the composition of his celebrated poem, "De partu Virginis," which he was twenty years in completing, he is said to have consulted him upon every verse, and frequently to have expressed the same verse in ten different forms, before he could please the ear of this fastidious critic.[32] Among the "Tumuli" of Pontano, which his officious kindness frequently devoted to his living friends, is one inscribed to Poderico, from the title to which it appears that he ranked among the nobility of Naples.

Of the district of Porto were Pietro-Jacopo Gianuario, of whom an Italian poem, in manuscript, has been preserved,* and his son, Alfonso Gianuario, of Portanova.

The only member of the academy from the district of Porto, if we except Sanazzaro, was Alessandro de' Alessandri, author of the "Geniales Dies," a work which has been esteemed, and frequently commented on as one of the classical productions of the Latin tongue. He was born of a noble family of Naples, about the year 1461, and in the early part of his life exercised with reputation the profession of an advocate, at Naples and at Rome; but his intimacy with the learned men of his time seduced him from his employment, and led him to the study of polite literature. Besides his principal work, he is said to have been the author of several dissertations on dreams, spectres, and on houses haunted by evil spirits, which are considered as proofs of childish credulity; but it may be doubted, whether these are any other than his chapters on those subjects in his "Geniales

* Vita di Sanazzar. da Crespo. Ven. 1752, p. 8, where it appears that this poem was formerly in the possession of Matteo Egizio, an Italian lawyer.

Dies."* Of that collection very different opinions have been entertained, and he has been accused of having stolen even the plan of his work from Aulus Gellius. But what is there peculiar in a plan, which consists only in dividing a certain number of unconnected observations into a certain number of books? In truth, his works prove him to have been a man of extensive reading, great industry, and a considerable share of critical ability, and he was perhaps as little tinctured with superstition, as most of the writers of the age in which he lived.[33]

Among those who resided beyond the districts, were Antonio Carbone, lord of Alise; Giovanni Elio, called also Elio Marchese; Giuniano Majo, the preceptor of Sanazzaro, and who has left a monument of his singular learning in his treatise, "De priscorum proprietate verborum;" Luca Grasso; Giovanni Aniso, whose Latin poems are published under the name of Janus Anysius, and author of a tragedy entitled "Protogonos;" the poet Cariteo; Pietro Compare, frequently addressed by Pontano as his associate in the rites of Bacchus and of Venus;[34] Pietro Summonte, himself an elegant writer, and to whose pious care we are indebted for the preservation of the works of many of his learned friends;† Tomaso Fusco; Rutilio Zenone; Girolamo Angeriano, whose poems have been published with those of Marullus and Johannes Secundus;[35] Antonio Tebaldeo, an Italian poet of considerable eminence, who chiefly resided at Ferrara, and whose writings will occur to our future notice; Girolamo Borgia, a Latin poet;[36] and Massimo Corvino, bishop of Massa, who had in his youth distinguished himself by his poetical compositions.

Of the Regnicoli were Gabriele Altilio, bishop of Policastro, author of the celebrated Epithalamium on the marriage of Gian-Galeazzo Sforza with Isabella of Aragon, and the frequent subject of the panegyric of his contemporaries;[37] Antonio Galateo, of Lecce, deservedly held in high estimation

* Tirab. vii. par. ii. p. 240. They were, however, printed separately, under the title of "Alexandri Icti Dissertationes quatuor," &c., from which we learn the real name of this author.

† For which he is celebrated in the exquisite verses by Sanazzaro, Epigr. lib. ii. 9.

in his profession as a physician, and whose attainments in natural and moral philosophy were much beyond the level of the age in which he lived;[38] and Giovanni Eliseo, of Anfratta, in Apulia, better known as a Latin poet, by the name of Elysius Calentius.[39]

The associated strangers, whose names have been preserved to us, were Lodovico Montalto, of Syracuse; Pietro Gravina, a canon of Naples, and a Latin poet of the first celebrity;[40] Marc-Antonio Flaminio, of Sicily, a distinguished scholar, but not to be mistaken for the celebrated Latin poet of the same name, a native of Serravalle; Egidio, afterwards cardinal of Viterbo;[41] Bartolommeo Scala, of Florence; Basilio Zanchi, of Bergamo, distinguished by the elegance of his Latin compositions, and whose beautiful verses on the death of Sanazzaro were translated into Italian by the great Torquato Tasso; Jacopo Sadoleti, afterwards secretary to Leo X., and who, at a more advanced period of life, attained the dignity of the purple; Giovanni Cotta, of Verona, who followed the fortunes of the celebrated Venetian general, Bartolommeo d'Alviano, and whose Latin poems may aspire to rank with those of Navagero, Fracastoro, and Aniso, with whom he lived in habits of friendship;[42] Matteo Albino; Pietro Bembo; Antonio Michele, of Venice; Giovan-Pietro Valeriano, of Belluno;* Nicolas Grudius, of Rohan;[43] Giacomo Latino, of Flanders; Giovanni Pardo, often celebrated in the writings of Sanazzaro and Pontano;[44] and Michaele Marullus of Constantinople, who excelled all his countrymen in the elegance of his Latin compositions.[45]

Of this numerous catalogue it is but justice to observe, that there is scarcely an individual who has not, by the labours of the sword or of the pen, entitled himself to the notice of the biographer, and the approbation of posterity. Nor would it be difficult to make considerable additions to it, if the foregoing account were not amply sufficient to demonstrate the ardour and success with which polite letters were cultivated at Naples, under the princes of the house of Aragon.[46]

Next to the cities of Naples and Florence, perhaps no place in Italy had fairer pretensions to literary eminence

* Author of the treatise "De Literatorum Infelicitate," and a distinguished Latin poet, to whose works we shall have occasion to advert.

than Ferrara. During the whole of the fifteenth century the family of Este, who had held the sovereignty of that place for many generations, had displayed an invariable attention to the cause of letters, and had rewarded their professors with a munificence that attracted them from all parts of Italy, and rendered Ferrara a flourishing theatre of science and of arts. At the close of the century, that city, with its dependent states of Modena and Reggio, were under the government of Ercole I., the successor of Borso, whom the favour of the populace had preferred to his nephew Nicolo d'Este, the son of the celebrated Leonello. The succession to the sceptre of Ferrara exhibits indeed a striking instance of the disregard which was then paid to the laws generally established on that subject, and of the great attention bestowed on personal merit. By Ercole the university of Ferrara was maintained in high respectability; the library of his family was increased; a superb theatre was erected for the representation of dramatic performances, in which the first piece acted was the "Menæchmus" of Plautus, which is said to have been translated into Italian for that purpose by the duke himself.[47] When such was the character of the sovereign, we shall not be surprised at the number of learned men who frequented his court, and who dignified his reign by the acknowledged excellence of their productions.* Not to dwell on the merits of Ottavio Cleofilo, Luca Riva, Lodovico Bigi, Tribraco Modonese, Lodovico Carro, and others, who cultivated Latin poetry with various success, the works of the two Strozzi, Tito Vespasiano, the father, and Ercole, the son, are alone sufficient to place Ferrara high in literary rank among the cities of Italy.

These distinguished Latin poets were of the illustrious family of the same name at Florence, whence Nanna Strozzi, the father of Tito, passed to Ferrara in the military service of Niccolo III., in which he acquired great honour. The rank, the talents, and the learning of Tito, rendered

* A cotemporary writer (B. P. Prignani, Ap. Tirab. vi. 2, 218) assures us, that poets were as plentiful in the city, as frogs in the territory, of Ferrara.

"Nam tot Ferraria vates,
Quot ranas, tellus Ferrariensis, habet."

him a fit person to negotiate the affairs of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, with foreign powers, and he was accordingly employed as his ambassador on several important missions. He also occasionally held some of the first offices in the state, in the execution of which he appears to have incurred, at times, no small share of popular odium. In the midst, however, of the occupations and storms of his public life, he cultivated his talents for Latin poetry with unremitting attention, and has even endeavoured to render his compositions the vehicle of his justification to posterity.[48] The writings of Tito are distinguished by their simplicity and purity of diction, rather than by their strength of sentiment or energy of style.* In some of his pieces he has celebrated the antiquity of his family, and the opulence and achievements of his ancestors; whilst in others he has taken occasion to acquaint posterity with some particulars of his own life and character. Ercole Strozzi stands yet higher in the annals of literature than his father. Eminently skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, he had not neglected the cultivation of his own, in which he wrote with uncommon elegance. By his fellow-citizen, Celio Calcagnini, he is celebrated for his integrity, his magnanimity, and his filial piety; and for all those qualities which endear a man to his friends and to his country. A short time before his death, Tito Strozzi had begun a Latin poem, in praise of Borso d'Este, of which he had completed ten books, and which he requested his son to finish and publish, with a correct edition of his other poems; but Ercole did not survive long enough, either to complete the task imposed upon him, by the publication of his father's writings, or to correct his own; having been assassinated in the year 1508, and in the prime of life, by a nobleman who had unsuccessfully paid his addresses to the lady whom Ercole had married.† That task was therefore intrusted by Guido and Lorenzo, his surviving brothers, to the celebrated printer, Aldo Manuzio, who, in the year 1513, gave these poems to the public in an elegant and correct edition.

* We are informed by Tiraboschi, that many unpublished poems of this distinguished scholar remain in the ducal library at Modena. Vi, par. ii. p. 209.

† In one of his elegies, lib. i. p. 69, he seems not to have been without apprehensions of his untimely fate.

In enumerating the learned men, who at this time resided in the state of Ferrara, it would be unpardonable to omit another accomplished scholar, and celebrated poet, who died in the year 1494, and who will not therefore occur again to our particular notice. The eminent Matteo Maria Boiardo, count of Scandiano, was born in the territory of Ferrara, about the year 1430, and spent in that city the chief part of his life, honoured with the favour and friendship of Borso and Ercole d'Este, and frequently intrusted by them, as governor of the subordinate cities in their dominion.[49] Boiardo is principally known by his epic romance, of "Orlando Innamorato," of which the yet more celebrated poem of Ariosto is not only an imitation, but a continuation. Of this work, he did not live to complete the third book, nor is it probable that any part of it had the advantage of his last corrections; yet it is justly regarded as exhibiting, upon the whole, a warmth of imagination, and a vivacity of colouring, which render it highly interesting;[50] nor is it perhaps without reason that the simplicity of the original has occasioned it to be preferred to the same work, as altered or reformed by Francesco Berni, who has carried the marvellous to such an extreme, as to deprive his narrative of all pretensions to even poetic probability, and by his manifest attempts to be always jocular, has too often destroyed the effects of his jocularity.[51]

Less known, but not less valuable, than his epic poem, are the three books of sonnets and lyric pieces by Boiardo, collected and published after his death, under the Latin title of "Amores,"[52] although wholly consisting of Italian poems. When it is considered, that the greater part of these pieces were written at a time when the Tuscan poetry was in its lowest state of debasement, we may justly be surprised at the choice of expression which they frequently display, and the purity of style by which they are almost invariably characterized. At the request of his great patron, Ercole, duke of Ferrara, Boiardo also composed his comedy of "Timone," founded on one of the dialogues of Lucian.[53] Nor was Boiardo only one of the most eminent poets; he was also one of the most learned men of his age. From the Greek he translated into his native tongue the history of Herodotus,

and the Asinus of Lucian. Of his Latin poetry, many specimens yet remain, and Tiraboschi has mentioned ten eclogues, in that language, inscribed to Ercole I., which are preserved in the ducal library of Modena, and which, as he assures us, are full of grace and elegance.*

At this time the celebrated Ariosto, who was destined to build his immortal work upon the foundation laid by Boiardo, was only eighteen years of age;[54] but, even at this early period, he had exhibited that strong inclination to the cultivation of literature, and particularly of poetry, which distinguished him to the close of his days; and the story of "Thisbe," as adapted by him to a dramatic form, was represented by himself, with his brothers and sisters, in his father's residence. He was first destined to the study of the law; but after five years of irksome and unprofitable labour, he finally quitted that occupation, and applied himself to the cultivation of the Latin language, under the instructions of Gregory of Spoleto. His predilection for theatrical compositions, which he had further displayed in his two comedies, entitled "La Cassaria," and "I Suppositi," both written in prose, whilst he was very young,† probably recommended him to the notice of Ercole I. whom he accompanied, in the year 1491, to Milan, for the purpose of enjoying the theatrical amusements by which that place was distinguished. From this time he devoted himself to the service of the family of Este, either in the court of the duke, or in that of the cardinal Ippolito, and will occur to our future notice, not only as a poet, but as engaged in the political transactions of the times.

The city of Ferrara may indeed be considered as the cradle of modern epic poetry;[55] for besides the celebrated authors before mentioned, that place might at this time have boasted of a third, whose writings not only obtained for him during his life-time a great share of celebrity, but have afforded passages which have since been imitated by the immortal Tasso. Of their author, Francesco Cieco, very few particulars are known. That he had enjoyed the favour of the Cardinal Ippolito, and

* Tirab. vii. par. i. 176.

† They were afterwards altered into *versi sdruccioli*, by Ariosto, and have been frequently printed, as well separately as together with his other works.

was therefore, in all probability, a native of Ferrara, may be inferred from the dedication of his epic poem, of "Mambriano,"[56] published by his surviving relation, Eliseo Conosciuti, in the year 1509. This piece, which extends to forty-five cantos, relates the adventures of a king of Asia, whose name forms the title of the work. That it long maintained its rank with the great contemporary productions of Italy, is sufficiently apparent; and the neglect which it has in later times experienced is attributed by Zeno to its not having had the good fortune, like the "Orlando Innamorato" of Boiardo, to meet with any one to continue its subject, or to reform its style.

Few persons enjoyed at this period a higher share of literary reputation than Nicolo Lelio Cosmico, and few persons have so effectually lost that reputation in the estimation of posterity. He is not even enumerated by the diligent Crescimbeni as one of the poets of Italy; yet three editions of his works were printed in the fifteenth century, and he is the frequent subject of applause among the most distinguished scholars of the time.[57] He was a native of Padua, and spent some of his early years in the court of the marquis of Mantua; but the chief part of his life was passed in the society of the scholars of Ferrara. His own compositions were principally Italian, but he also aspired to the reputation of a Latin poet; and Giraldi, a judicious critic, whilst he censures the arrogant and satirical disposition of the author, acknowledges the merits of his writings. The freedom of his opinions, or of his conduct, incurred the notice of the Inquisition; but the interference of Lodovico Gonzaga not only protected him in this emergency, but has conferred an illustrious testimony on the character of a writer, who is now no longer estimated from his own works.*

The attention paid by the family of Este to the promotion of literature was emulated by that of the Gonzaghi, marquises of Mantua, and the Montefeltri, dukes of Urbino. The intercourse which subsisted between these families, and which was founded on an union of political interests, and confirmed by the ties of consanguinity, gave indeed a common

* Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 225.

character to their courts. Francesco Gonzago, marquis of Mantua, married Isabella of Este, the daughter of Ercole I., duke of Ferrara; and Elizabetta, the sister of the marquis, became the wife of Guidubaldo da Montefeltri, duke of Urbino.

Federigo, the father of Guidubaldo, had rendered his name illustrious throughout Italy, not only as a distinguished patron of learning, but by his military and political talents. In the rugged situation in which the city of Urbino is placed, he had erected a palace, which was esteemed one of the finest structures in Italy, and had furnished it in the most sumptuous manner, with vases of silver, rich draperies of gold and silk, and other rare and splendid articles. To these he had added an extensive collection of statues and busts, in bronze and marble, and of the most excellent pictures of the times; but the pride of his palace, and the envy of his contemporary princes, was the superb and copious selection of books, in the Greek, Latin, and other languages, with which he had adorned his library, and which he enriched with ornaments of silver and of gold.* If, however, the father was an admirer and a protector of literature, the son united to these characters that of a practical and accurate scholar. With the Latin language, we are told, he was as conversant as others are with their native tongue, and so intimate was his knowledge of the Greek, that he was acquainted with its minutest peculiarities, and its most refined elegances. The love of study did not, however, extinguish in the bosom of Guidubaldo that thirst for military glory, by which his ancestors had been uniformly characterized; and if his health had not been impaired by the gout at an early period of his life, he would probably have acquired, in the commotions which soon after this period disturbed the repose of Italy, a still higher reputation. In his biographers and panegyrists he has been peculiarly fortunate; the learned Pietro Bembo has devoted a considerable tract to the celebration of his merits,† and Baldassare Castiglione, in his admirable "Libro del Cor-

* Castiglione, lib. del Cortegiano, lib. i.

† "P. Bembi de Guido-Ubaldo Feretrio deque Elisabetha Gonzaga Urbini ducibus, liber." First printed at Venice, under the inspection of the author, in 1530.

tegiano," has honoured his memory with an eulogium, which will probably be as durable as the Italian language itself. His wife, Elizabetta Gonzaga, is not less the subject of admiration and applause to both these authors; the latter of whom has, in the commencement of his work, given a striking picture of the vivacity, the taste, the elegance, the tempered wit, and decorous freedom, by which the court of Urbino was at this period distinguished.[58] Giovanna, sister of the duke, had intermarried, in the year 1475, with Giovanni della Rovere, one of the nephews of Sixtus IV., and brother of the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II., on which occasion, Sixtus had invested his nephew with the principality of Sinigaglia, and the beautiful territory of Mondavia. By him she had a son, Francesco Maria, who was educated at the court of Urbino, and succeeded his maternal uncle Guidubaldo, whom he, however, resembled much more in his military character, than in his literary accomplishments.

Francesco Gonzago, marquis of Mantua, had succeeded his father, Federigo, in the year 1484. Notwithstanding the many hazardous expeditions in which he was engaged, the numerous battles in which he held a principal command, and the adverse fortune which he on some occasions experienced, he found time to apply himself to the study of polite letters; and there is reason to believe that he was the author of many sonnets, capitoli, and other verses, which have been printed in the collections of the ensuing century. His wife, Isabella of Este, was not less distinguished by her elegant accomplishments and refined taste, which led her to collect antique statues, cameos, medallions, and other specimens of art, some of which are celebrated in the verses of the poets of the time.* Nor was the court of Mantua deprived of those honours, which the favour of the Muses could alone confer. Among the men of talents, who either adopted that place as their constant residence, or enlivened it by their frequent visits, Giampietro Arrivabene, and Battista Mantuano, are entitled to particular notice. The former of these eminent

* *Vide* Tirab. vii. par. i. 53. Ariosto has devoted several stanzas in his 37th Canto to the celebration of the praises of the marquis, and Isabella of Este, his wife.

men was the scholar of Francesco Filelfo, who has addressed to him several of his letters, and who transformed his Italian name of Arrivabene into the Greek appellation of Eutychius. That he enjoyed the confidential office of Latin secretary to the Marquis Francesco, might be thought to confer sufficient honour on his memory; but he was also a man of blameless manners, uncommon eloquence, and a considerable share of learning. His principal work is his "Gonnagidos," a Latin poem in four books, in praise of Lodovico, marquis of Mantua, who died in 1478, and not in 1484, as mentioned by Mazzuchelli. From this work, which is said to be written in a much more elegant style than from his early age might have been expected, it appears, that the author had been present at many of the victories and transactions which he there relates.[58]

Battista Mantuano may be enumerated among those writers who have had the good fortune to obtain for a long time a reputation superior to their merits.[59] The applause which his works excited was not confined to Italy, but extended throughout Europe, where, under the name of Mantuanus, or Mantuan, he was considered as another Virgil, whose writings might stand in competition with those of his immortal countryman. Nor can it be denied, that the productions of Battista evince a facility of conception, and a flow of language, which prove him to have been possessed of considerable talents. But in admitting that the native endowments of Battista might bear some comparison with those of his great predecessor, we are compelled to acknowledge, that he was strangely defective in the method of employing his abilities to the best advantage. Of all authors, there are, perhaps, few or none who have been less satisfied with their own productions than the Roman bard. However we may estimate the powers of his imagination, or the melody of his verse, his taste was still superior to his other accomplishments; and his efforts were unremitting to arrive at that standard of perfection which he had conceived in his own mind. It is well known, that after having bestowed the labour of twelve years on his immortal poem, the conviction which he felt of its imperfections determined him, in his last moments, to order it to be committed to the flames; and it

was only by a breach of his solemn testamentary injunction, that this work has been preserved for the admiration of posterity.* To the conduct of the ancient poet, that of the modern was an exact reverse; and if they originally started from the same ground, they bent their course in opposite directions. Of the productions of Battista, the earliest are incomparably the best; and as these seem to have gratified his readers, so it is probable they delighted himself. As he advanced in years, he poured out his effusions with increasing facility, until he lost even the power of discriminating the merit of his own productions. From his long poem, "De Calamitatibus temporum," the historian might hope to select some passages which might elucidate his researches; but in this he will be disappointed; the adherence of Battista to the track of the ancients having prevented him from entering into those particulars which would have rendered his works interesting; whilst the heavy commentary in which they have been enveloped, by Badius Ascenscius, presents them in so formidable an aspect to the modern reader, as fully to account for that neglect which they have for a long time past experienced.

The tranquillity which had now for some years reigned in Italy had introduced into that country an abundance, a luxury, and a refinement, almost unexampled in the annals of mankind. Instead of contending for dominion and power, the sovereigns and native princes of that happy region attempted to rival each other in taste, in splendour, and in elegant accomplishments; and it was considered as essential to their grandeur, to give their household establishments a literary character. Hence their palaces became a kind of polite academy, in which the nobility of both sexes found a constant exercise for their intellectual talents; and courage, rank, and beauty, did not hesitate to associate with taste, with learning, and with wit. In this respect the court of Milan was eminently distinguished. By the ostentatious liberality of Lodovico Sforza, who then held, in the name of his nephew Galeazzo, but directed at his own pleasure, the government of

* Plin. lib. vii. cap. 30. P. Crinitus, "De Poetis Latinis," lib. iii. in Op. p. 477, has cited a beautiful copy of verses addressed to Augustus on this subject.

that place, several of the most distinguished artists and scholars of the time were induced to fix their residence there. Among the former of these, the celebrated Lionardo da Vinci deservedly holds the most conspicuous place. This extraordinary man, who united in himself the various qualifications of a painter, a sculptor, a poet, a musician, an architect, and a geometrician, and who, in short, left untouched very few of those objects which have engaged the attention of the human faculties, was born about the year 1443, at the castle of Vinci, in Valdarno. After having given striking indications of superior talents, he for some time availed himself of the instructions of Andrea Verocchio, whom he soon surpassed in such a degree as to render him dissatisfied with the efforts of his own pencil. His singular productions in every branch of art had already excited the admiration of all Italy, when he was invited by Lodovico, in the year 1492, to fix his residence at Milan. By his astonishing skill in music, which he performed on a kind of lyre of his own invention, and by his extraordinary facility as an Improvvisatore, in the recitation of Italian verse, no less than by his professional talents, he secured the favour of his patron, and the applauses of the Milanese court. Lodovico had, however, the judgment to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him by this great artist, to enrich the city of Milan with some of the finest productions of his pencil; and if the abilities of Lionardo were to be estimated by a single effort, his panegyrist might perhaps select his celebrated picture of the Last Supper, in the refectory of the Dominicans, as the most valuable of his works. In this piece it was doubtless the intention of the painter to surpass whatever had before been executed, and to represent not merely the external form and features, but the emotions and passions of the mind, from the highest degree of virtue and beneficence in the character of the Saviour, to the extreme of treachery and guilt in that of Iscariot; whilst the various sensations of affection and veneration, of joy and of sorrow, of hope and of fear, displayed in the countenances and gestures of the disciples, might express their various apprehensions of the mysterious rite. In the midst sits the great founder, dispensing with unshaken firmness, from either hand, the emblems of his own approaching sufferings. The agitation

of the disciples is marked by their contrasted attitudes, and various expressions. Treachery and inhumanity seem to be concentred in the form and features of Judas Iscariot. In representing the countenance of Christ, he found, however, the powers of the artist inadequate to the conceptions of his own mind. To step beyond the limits of earth, and to diffuse over these features a ray of divinity, was his bold, but fruitless attempt. The effort was often renewed, and as often terminated in disappointment and humiliation. Despairing of success, he disclosed his anxiety to his friend and associate, Bernardo Zenale, who advised him to desist from all further endeavours; in consequence of which this great work was suffered to remain imperfect. Nor did Lionardo, in acknowledging, with Timanthes, the inefficacy of his skill, imitate that artist in the method which he adopted on that occasion. Agamemnon conceals his face in his robe, and the imagination of the spectator is at liberty to supply the defect; but in marking the head of his principal figure by a simple outline, Lionardo openly avows his inability, and leaves us only to regret, either the pusillanimity of the painter, or the impotence of his art.[62]

In a mind devoted to ambition, all other passions and pursuits are only considered as auxiliary to its great object; and there is too much reason to suspect, that the apparent solicitude of Lodovico Sforza for the promotion of letters and the arts was not so much the result of a disposition sincerely interested in their success, as an instrument of his political aggrandizement. That the supplanting the elder branch of his family, and vesting in himself and his descendants the government of Milan, had long been in his contemplation, cannot be doubted; and it is therefore highly probable that, after ingratiating himself with the populace, and securing the alliance and personal friendship of foreign powers, he would endeavour to strengthen his authority by the favour and support of men of learning, who at this time possessed a more decided influence on the political concerns of the country than at any other period. But by whatever motives Lodovico was actuated, it is allowed, that whilst the state of Milan was under his control, the capital was thronged with celebrated

scholars, several of whom adopted it as their permanent residence. On Bernardo Bellincione, a Florentine, he conferred the title of his poet laureat; and in the works of this author, printed at Milan in 1493, are inserted some stanzas which have been attributed to Lodovico himself. Among those who at this period contributed by their talents to give splendour to the court of Milan, were Antonio Cornazzano,[63] Giovanni Filoteo Achillini,[64] Gasparo Visconti,[65] Benedetto da Cingoli, Vincenzo Calmeta,[66] and Antonio Fregoso.[67] Nor were there wanting distinguished scholars in the graver departments of literature; of which number were Bartolomeo Calchi, and Giacopo Antiquario, celebrated not only for their own acquirements, but for their liberality in promoting the improvement of others;[68] Donato Bossi, commemorated both as an eminent professor of law, and an industrious historian;[69] Dionysius Nestor, whose early labours highly contributed to the improvement of the Latin tongue;[70] and Pontico Virunio, deservedly held in great esteem, both as a scholar and a statesman.

From the commencement of the century, the city of Bologna had endeavoured to maintain its independence against the superior power of the dukes of Milan, and the continual pretensions of the pontifical see. The chiefs of the noble family of Bentivoglio were regarded by their fellow-citizens as the patrons and asserters of their liberties, and after various struggles, in which they had frequently been expelled from their native place, they concentred in themselves the supreme authority, under limitations, which secured to the people the exercise of their ancient rights. This authority had now, for nearly half a century, been conceded to Giovanni Bentivoglio, who was only two years of age when his father Annibale was treacherously murdered by the rival faction of the Canedoli, in the year 1445, and who frequently occurs to notice, both in the political and literary annals of the time. The merit of Giovanni, as a friend and promoter of learning and of art, was, however, eclipsed by that of his three sons, Hermes, Annibale, and Galeazzo, all of whom are frequently commemorated in the writings of their contemporaries, and particularly in those of Antonio Urceo, usually denominated

Codrus Urceus, who, by his scientific and critical acquirements, deservedly held a high rank among the scholars of Italy.

This author was born at Rubiera, in the year 1446. His appellation of Codrus was derived from an incident that occurred to him at the city of Forli, where happening one day to meet with Pino degli Ordelaffi, then lord of that place, who recommended himself to his favour, "Good heavens!" exclaimed the poet, "the world is in a pretty state when Jupiter recommends himself to Codrus." During his residence at Forli, where he was intrusted with the education of Sinibaldo, the son of Pino, he met with a disaster which had nearly deprived him of his reason.[1] Having incautiously left his study without extinguishing his lamp, his papers took fire, by which many literary productions, which stood high in his own estimation, were destroyed; and particularly a poem entitled "Pastor." In the first impulse of his passion, he vented his rage in the most blasphemous imprecations, and, rushing from the city, passed the whole day in a wood in the vicinity, without nutriment. Compelled by hunger to return in the evening, he found the gates closed. When he again obtained admission into the city, he shut himself up in the house of an artificer, where for six months he abandoned himself to melancholy and grief. After a residence of about thirteen years at Forli he was invited to Bologna, where he was appointed professor of grammar and eloquence, and where he passed in great credit the remainder of his days. Of his extraordinary learning it might be considered as a sufficient proof, that Politiano submitted his Greek epigrams, and other writings, to his examination and correction; but his talents and acquirements more fully appear in his own works, which consist of "Sermones," or essays; of letters to Politiano, Aldo, and others of his learned friends, and of poems on a great variety of subjects; among which the praises of the family of Bentivogli form the most conspicuous part. He died in the year 1500. After his death his productions were collected by the younger Filippo Beroaldo, who had lived with him in friendly intimacy, and published at Bologna in the year 1502, with a preface, in which he highly extols the poetical effusions of his friend. Succeeding critics have, how-

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ever, been less indulgent to his fame; Giraldi, whilst he admits that the writings of Codrus are sufficiently correct, denies to them the charm of poetry, and Tiraboschi is of opinion, that neither his prose nor his verse can be recommended as models of elegance. That the poems of Codrus are not entitled to the highest rank among those of his contemporaries, will sufficiently appear from the lines addressed to Galeazzo Bentivoglio, as an acknowledgment for the honour done to the poet in placing his portrait amongst those of the learned men which Galeazzo had collected. Such a subject was certainly calculated to call forth all his powers, but those efforts which were intended to justify, will perhaps be thought rather to impeach the judgment of his patron.

Among the men of talents who at this period contributed to support the literary character of Italy, it would be unjust to omit Piero Ricci; or, as he denominated himself, according to the custom of the times, Petrus Crinitus. This notice of him is the more necessary, as little is to be found respecting him in those works of general information, where he ought to have held a conspicuous rank, and that little is for the most part erroneous. He was descended from the noble and opulent Florentine family of the Ricci,[72] and had the good fortune, when young, to avail himself of the instructions, and to obtain the friendship, of Politiano. Hence he was introduced into the family of the Medici, and became an associate in those literary and convivial meetings at the palace of the Medici in Florence, or at their different seats in the country, which he has himself occasionally celebrated in his writings. It is not therefore surprising, that on the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he honoured his memory in a Latin ode, which he addressed to Pico of Mirandula; but it is remarkable, that in this production (if indeed it was written at the time to which it relates) he has predicted in forcible terms the approaching calamities of Italy. After this event, Crinitus still continued to enjoy at Florence the society of Pico and of Politiano, till the death of these distinguished scholars, which happened within two months of each other, in the year 1494.* It may serve as an instance of the negligence with which literary

* Crinitus has also consecrated a Latin poem to the memory of each of his friends, in Op. pp. 532, 563.

memoirs are often written, and of the necessity of a more intimate acquaintance with the general history of the times, to notice some of the errors to which the Life of Crinitus has given rise. By one author we are informed, that after the death of Politiano, Crinitus was intrusted by Lorenzo de' Medici with the instruction of his children, and that this example was followed by the principal nobility of Florence, who rejoiced in having obtained such a successor to so accomplished a preceptor.* If this were true, Crinitus would be entitled to our more particular notice, as one of the early instructors of Leo X.; but when we recollect, that at the time of the death of Politiano, Lorenzo had been dead upwards of two years, we are compelled to reject this information as wholly groundless. Another author, who was a contemporary with Crinitus, has however informed us, that at the death of Politiano, Crinitus continued to deliver instructions to the younger branches of the Medici family, and others of the Florentine nobility;† forgetting that the Medici were, about the time of the death of Politiano, expelled from Florence, and became fugitives in different parts of Italy, where they could not avail themselves of the precepts of Crinitus, and where indeed they had other occupations than the studies of literature. It is therefore more probable that Crinitus, after this period, quitted his native place, and took an active part in the commotions which soon afterwards occurred; as he frequently refers in his writings to the labours and misfortunes which he has sustained, and avows his determination to return to his literary studies. That he passed some part of his time at Naples, may be presumed, not only from his intimacy with Bernardo Caraffa, Tomaso Fusco, and other Neapolitan scholars, but from the particular interest which he appears to have taken on behalf of the house of Aragon, and the vehemence with which he inveighs against the French in his writings. In this respect his opinions were directly opposed to those of his friend Marullus, who openly espoused the cause of Charles VIII. It may also be conjectured that he passed a part of his time at Ferrara, where having, by accident,

* Negri, Scrittori Fiorent. p. 462.
† Giovio, Iscritt. p. 106.

fallen into the Po, and escaped with safety, he addressed an ode of gratitude to the river. We are informed by Negri, that Crinitus died about the close of the fifteenth century, at the age of thirty-nine years; but his writings refer to many events beyond that period; and his dedication of his treatise, "De Poetis Latinis," to Cosmo de' Pazzi, then bishop of Arezzo, and afterwards archbishop of Florence, nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent, is dated in the year 1505, which period, it is however probable, he did not long survive. We are also informed that his death was occasioned by the irregularity of his conduct and the licentiousness of his friends, one of whom, in the frolics of a convivial entertainment, at the villa of Pietro Martelli, poured over him a vessel of water, with the disgrace of which he was so greatly affected, that he died in a few days.* Not to insist merely on the improbability of such a narrative, a sufficient proof that the life of Crinitus was not terminated by any sudden accident, appears in his beautiful and pathetic Latin ode on his long sickness and approaching death, from which we find, that he had struggled with a tiresome feverish indisposition, which had baffled the skill of his physicians, and in which he resigns himself to his untimely fate; at the same time asserting his claim to the esteem of posterity from the integrity of his life and conduct. From the same piece we also learn, that he intended to have written a poem on the descent of the French into Italy, but this, with many other works, was left unfinished. After the death of Politiano, Crinitus assisted his friend Alessandro Sarti, in collecting the works of that great scholar, for the edition printed by Aldo Manuzio, in 1498.

The principal work of Crinitus, "De Honesta Disciplina," as well as his treatise on the Latin poets before mentioned, demonstrates the extent of his learning and the accuracy of his critical taste,[73] and in these respects is not unworthy the disciple of his great preceptor. His poetry, all of which is in the Latin language, is also entitled to commendation, and will occasionally be adduced in the following pages, as

* Negri, *ubi sup.* Giovio Iscritt. 106.

illustrating the public transactions of the times in which he lived.[74]

It may not be improper to close this general view of the state of literature in Italy, in the year 1492, with some account of a person, whose incalculable services to the cause of sound learning present themselves to our notice at every step, and the productions of whose skill are at every moment in the hands of the historian of this period. This can only be referred to the eminent printer, Aldo Manuzio, to whom the world is indebted, not only for the works of many of the ancient authors, which he either first discovered, or first published in a correct form, but for those of many of his contemporaries, which, without his unparalleled industry, would not have been preserved to the present day. At this precise time he was making preparations for his laudable purpose, and had determined to devote his learning, his resources, his industry, and his life, to the service of literature. But before we advert to the measures which he adopted for this great and commendable end, it cannot be thought uninteresting briefly to commemorate the previous events of his life.

Aldo Manuzio was born about the year 1447, at Bassiano, a village within the Roman territory, whence he styles himself Aldus Manutius Bassianus; but more frequently Aldus Romanus.[75] Maittaire justly observes, that it was a fortunate circumstance, that the birth of so skilful an artist should have happened at the very time when the art itself was first meditated. Respecting his education, he has himself informed us, that he lost a great part of his time in acquiring the principles of Latin grammar by the rules of Alessandro de Villadei,[76] the book then commonly used in the schools, but this disadvantage was soon afterwards compensated by the instructions which he obtained in the Latin tongue, from Gasparo Veronese at Rome, and in both Latin and Greek, from Battista Guarino, who then resided at Ferrara, at which place Aldo also took up his abode. Under such tutors, the proficiency of such a scholar was rapid, and at an early age Aldo became himself an instructor, having been entrusted with the education of Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, who was nearly of his own age.[77] With this young nobleman he con-

tracted a friendship which proved throughout his life of the greatest service to him, and which was afterwards manifested by his disciple conceding to him the honourable privilege of using his family name, whence Aldus has often denominated himself "Aldus Pius Manutius." In the year 1482, when the safety of Ferrara was threatened by the formidable attack of the Venetians, Aldo retreated to Mirandola, where he contracted a strict intimacy with the celebrated Giovanni Pico. His intercourse with these two men of distinguished rank and learning continued with uninterrupted esteem, and Alberto had expressed an intention of investing him with the government of a part of his territory of Carpi; but this project was reliquished for one which proved more honourable to Aldo, and more useful to mankind. In the friendly interviews which took place among these individuals, the idea was gradually formed of the great undertaking which Aldo was destined to carry into effect, and in which, as it has been with probability conjectured, he was to have the support and pecuniary assistance of his two illustrious friends.

Of the liberal motives by which Aldo was actuated, he has left to posterity abundant evidence. "The necessity of Greek literature is now," says he, "universally acknowledged, insomuch, that not only our youth endeavour to acquire it, but it is studied even by those advanced in years. We read but of one Cato among the Romans who studied Greek in his old age, but in our times we have many Catos, and the number of our youth, who apply themselves to the study of Greek, is almost as great as of those who study the Latin tongue; so that Greek books, of which there are but few in existence, are now eagerly sought after. But by the assistance of Jesus Christ, I hope ere long to supply this deficiency, although it can only be accomplished by great labour, inconvenience, and loss of time. Those who cultivate letters must be supplied with books necessary for their purpose, and till this supply be obtained, I shall not be at rest."*

But although the publication of the Greek authors appears

* *Vide* Aldi Epist. Aristoteli Organo, 1495, præfixam; et Maittaire, Annal. i. 69. His magnanimity and public spirit appear also from many other passages in his own writings.

to have been his favourite object, and always occupied a great part of his attention, yet he extended his labours to other languages, and to every department of learning. The place which he chose for his establishment was Venice, already the most distinguished city in Italy for the attention paid to the art, and where it was most probable that he might meet with those materials and assistants which were necessary for his purpose. In making the preparations requisite for commencing his work, he was indefatigable;[78] but the more particular object of his wishes was the discovery of some method, by which he might give to his publications a greater degree of correctness than had been attained by any preceding artist. To this end he invited to his assistance a great number of distinguished scholars, whom he prevailed upon, by his own influence and that of his friends, or the stipulation of a liberal reward, to take up their residence at Venice. That he might attach them still more to the place and to each other, he proposed the establishment of a literary association, or academy, the chief object of which was to collate the works of the ancient authors, with a view to their publication in as perfect a manner as possible. Of this academy Marcus Musurus, Pietro Bembo, Angelo Gabrielli, Andrea Navagero, Daniello Rinieri, Marino Sanuto, Benedetto Ramberti, Battista Egnazio, and Giambattista Ramusio, were the principal ornaments, and will be entitled to our future notice. For the more effectual establishment of this institution, it was his earnest wish to have obtained an imperial diploma; but in this respect he was disappointed; and the Venetian academy, which ought to have been an object of national or universal munificence, was left to depend upon the industry and bounty of a private individual, under whose auspices it subsisted during many years in great credit, and effected, in a very considerable degree, the beneficial purposes which its founder had in view.

Such were the motives, and such the preparations for this great undertaking; but its execution surpassed all the expectations that its most sanguine promoters could have formed of it. The first work produced from the Aldine press was the poem of "Hero and Leander," of Musæus, in the year 1494; from

which time, for the space of upwards of twenty years, during which Aldo continued his labours, there is scarcely an ancient author, Greek or Latin, of whom he did not give a copious edition, besides publishing a considerable number of books in the Italian tongue. In the acquisition of the most authentic copies of the ancient authors, whether manuscript or printed, he spared neither labour nor expense; and such was the opinion entertained of his talents and assiduity by the celebrated Erasmus, who occasionally assisted him in revising the ancient writers, that he has endeavoured to do justice to his merits, by asserting in his "Adagia," "that if some tutelary deity had promoted the views of Aldo, the learned world would shortly have been in possession, not only of all the Greek and Latin authors, but even of the Hebrew and Chaldaic; insomuch, that nothing could have been wanting, in this respect, to their wishes. That it was an enterprise of royal munificence to re-establish polite letters, then almost extinct; to discover what was hidden; to supply what was wanting; and correct what was defective." By the same eminent scholar we are also assured, that whilst Aldo promoted the interests of the learned, the learned gave him in return their best assistance, and that even the Hungarians and the Poles sent their works to his press, and accompanied them by liberal presents. How these great objects could be accomplished by the efforts of an individual, will appear extraordinary; especially when it is considered, that Aldo was a professed teacher of the Greek language in Venice; that he diligently attended the meetings of the academy; that he maintained a frequent correspondence with the learned in all countries; that the prefaces and dedications of the books which he published were often of his own composition; that the works themselves were occasionally illustrated by his criticisms and observations, and that he sometimes printed his own works; an instance of which appears in his Latin grammar, published in the year 1507.[79] The solution of this difficulty may, however, in some degree be obtained, by perusing the inscription placed by Aldo over the door of his study, in which he requests his visitors to despatch their business with him as expeditiously as possible, and begone; unless

they come as Hercules came to Atlas, with a view of rendering assistance; in which case there would be sufficient employment, both for them, and as many others as might repair thither.

QUISQUIS ES, ROGAT TE ALDUS ETIAM ATQUE ETIAM,
UT SIQUID EST QUOD A SE VELIS, PERPAUCIS AGAS,
DEINDE ACTUTUM ABEAS; NISI, TAMQUAM HERCULES,
DEFESSO ATLANTE, VENERIS SUPPOSITURUS HUMEROS;
SEMPER ENIM ERIT QUOD ET TU AGAS,
ET QUOTQUOT
HUC ATTULERINT PEDES.

CHAPTER III.

1492—1494.

The Cardinal de' Medici returns to Florence—Death of Innocent VIII.—Election of Alexander VI.—Ambitious Views of Lodovico Sforza—He invites Charles VIII. into Italy—League between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians—Observations on the respective Claims of the Houses of Anjou and Aragon—Charles accommodates his Differences with other States—Negotiates with the Florentines—Alexander VI. remonstrates with him on his Attempt—The king of Naples endeavours to prevail on him to relinquish his Expedition—Prepares for his Defence—Alfonso II. succeeds to the Crown of Naples—Prepares for War—Views and Conduct of the smaller States of Italy—Charles VIII. engages Italian Stipendiaries—Unsuccessful Attempt of the Neapolitans against Genoa—Ferdinand duke of Calabria opposes the French in Romagna—Charles crosses the Alps—His interview with Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan—Hesitates respecting the prosecution of his Enterprise—Piero de' Medici surrenders to Charles VIII. the Fortresses of Tuscany—The Cardinal de' Medici with his brothers Piero and Giuliano expelled the City—Pisa asserts its Liberties—Retreat of the Duke of Calabria before d'Aubigny—Charles VIII. enters Florence—Intends to restore Piero de' Medici—Commotions in Florence and Treaty with Charles VIII.—Charles enters the Territories of the Church—The States of Italy exhorted by a Contemporary Writer to oppose the Progress of the French.

SCARCELY had the cardinal de' Medici gone through the ceremonies of his admission into the consistory, when he received intelligence of the death of his father, which happened on the eighth day of April, 1492. His sensations on this occasion are strongly expressed in his letters to his brother Piero;* but not satisfied with epistolary condolence and advice, he prepared to pay a visit to Florence, for the purpose of supporting, by his presence, the credit and authority of the

* *Vide* Life of Lor. d' Med. Another letter written soon after this event, and hitherto unpublished, is given in the Appendix to this volume, No. III.

Medici in that city. In order to give him additional importance on this occasion, the pope appointed him legate of the patrimony of St. Peter, and of the Tuscan state. Before his arrival, the magistrates and council had, however, passed a decree, by which they had continued to Piero all the honours which his late father had enjoyed. The general disposition of the inhabitants was indeed so highly favourable to the Medici, that the authority of Piero seemed to be established on as sure a foundation as that of any of his ancestors, with the additional stability which length of time always gives to public opinion.

During the residence of the cardinal at Florence, he distinguished himself amongst his fellow-citizens, not only by the decorum and gravity of his conduct as an ecclesiastic, but by his munificence to those numerous and eminent scholars whom the death of his father had deprived of their chief protector. To his favour, Marsilio Ficino was indebted for the respectable rank of a canon of Florence. His liberality was yet more particularly shewn to Demetrius Chalcondyles, from whom he had formerly received instruction, and to whom he afforded pecuniary assistance, not only for his own purposes, but for the promotion of his numerous offspring. In these, and similar instances, his conduct corresponded with the sentiments professed by him, in the assertion which he made, that the greatest alleviation which he could experience of his recent loss, would be to have it in his power to promote the interest of those men of learning, who had been the peculiar objects of the affection and regard of his father.* In the mean time the health of the pope was rapidly declining, and the cardinal received information, which induced him to hasten with all possible expedition towards Rome. On this occasion the magistrates of Florence directed their general, Paolo Orsino, to accompany him to that city, with a body of horse; but before his arrival there, he received intelligence of the death of the pontiff, which happened on the twenty-fifth day of July, 1492.

If the character of Innocent were to be impartially weighed, the balance would incline, but with no very rapid

* Fabronii, Vita Leon. X. p. 14.

motion, to the favourable side. His native disposition seems to have been mild and placable; but the disputed claims of the Roman see, which he conceived it to be his duty to enforce, led him into embarrassments, from which he was with difficulty extricated, and which, without increasing his reputation, destroyed his repose. He had some pretensions to munificence, and may be ranked with those pontiffs to whom Rome is indebted for her more modern ornaments. One of the faults with which he stands charged, is his unjust distribution of the treasures of the church among the children who had been born to him during his secular life;[39] but even in this respect his bounty was restrained within moderate limits. Instead of raising his eldest son, Francesco Cibò, to an invidious equality with the hereditary princes of Italy, he conferred on him the more substantial and less dangerous benefits of great private wealth; and although to these he had added the small domains of Anguillara and Cervetri, yet Francesco, soon after the death of his father, divested himself of these possessions for an equivalent in money, and took up his abode at Florence, among the kinsmen of his wife, Maddalena de' Medici.

On the death of the pope, his body was carried to the church of St. Peter, attended by the cardinal de' Medici, and four others of equal rank. His obsequies were performed on the fifth day of August, and on the following day the cardinals entered the conclave, amidst the tumults of the people, who, as usual on such occasions, abandoned themselves to every species of outrage and licentiousness. The chief contest appeared to subsist between Ascanio Sforza, whose superior rank and powerful family connexions gave him great credit, and Roderigo Borgia, who counterbalanced the influence of his opponent, by his long experience, deep dissimulation, and the riches amassed from the many lucrative offices which he had enjoyed. With such art did he employ these advantages, that Ascanio himself, seduced by the blandishments and promises of Roderigo, not only relinquished his own pretensions, but became the most earnest advocate for the success of his late opponent. So openly was this scandalous traffic carried on, that Roderigo sent four mules laden with silver to Ascanio, and presented to another

cardinal's sons of five thousand gold crowns, as an earnest of what he was afterwards to receive.* On this occasion, the cardinal de' Medici had attached himself to the cardinals Francesco Piccolomini (afterwards Pius III.) and Oliviero Caraffa, men of great integrity and respectability, but who were induced to relax in their opposition to the election of Roderigo, by the exertions of Ascanio Sforza. Of twenty cardinals who entered the conclave, we are informed there were only five who did not sell their votes.†

On the eleventh day of August, 1492, Roderigo, having assumed the name of Alexander VI., made his entrance, as supreme pontiff, into the church of St. Peter. The ceremonies and processions on this occasion exceeded in pomp and expense all that modern Rome had before witnessed; and whilst the new pontiff passed through the triumphal arches erected to his honour, he might have read the inscriptions which augured the return of the golden age, and hailed him as a conqueror and a god.[a] These pageants being terminated, Alexander underwent the final test of his qualifications, which, in his particular instance, might have been dispensed with,‡ and being then admitted into the plenitude of power, he bestowed his pontifical benediction on the people. "He entered on his office," says a contemporary historian, "with the meekness of an ox, but he administered it with the fierceness of a lion."§

The intelligence of this event being dispersed through Italy, where the character of Roderigo Borgia was well known, a general dissatisfaction took place, and Ferdinand of Naples, who, in his reputation for sagacity, stood the highest among the sovereigns of Europe, is said to have declared to his queen with tears, from which feminine expression of his feelings he was wont to abstain, even on the death of his children, that the election of this pontiff would be destructive to the repose, not only of Italy, but of the whole republic of Christendom: "a prognostic," says Guicciardini, "not unworthy of the pru-

* Burchard Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi, i. 101.

† Ibid.

‡ Corio, par. vii. p. 890. Respecting the origin of this custom, *vide* Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, p. 149, note (b).

§ Corio, *ut supra* p. 890.

dence of Ferdinand; for in Alexander VI. were united a singular degree of prudence and sagacity, a sound understanding, a wonderful power of persuasion, and an incredible perseverance, vigilance, and dexterity, in whatever he undertook. But these good qualities were more than counterbalanced by his vices. In his manners he was most shameless; wholly divested of sincerity, of decency, and of truth; without fidelity, without religion; in his avarice, immoderate; in his ambition, insatiable; in his cruelty, more than barbarous; with a most ardent desire of exalting his numerous children, by whatever means it might be accomplished; some of whom (that depraved instruments might not be wanting for depraved purposes) were not less detestable than their father."* Such, in the opinion of this eminent historian, was the man, whom the sacred college had chosen to be the supreme head of the Christian Church.

The elevation of Alexander VI. was the signal of flight to such of the cardinals as had opposed his election. Giuliano della Rovere, who to a martial spirit united a personal hatred of Alexander, insomuch that in one of their quarrels the dispute had terminated with blows, thought it prudent to consult his safety by retiring to Ostia, of which place he was bishop. Here he fortified himself as for a siege, alleging, that he could not trust "the traitor," by which appellation he had been accustomed to distinguish his ancient adversary.† The cardinal Giovanni Colonna sought a refuge in the island of Sicily; and the cardinal de' Medici, equally inimical, but less obnoxious to Alexander, retired to Florence, where he remained till the approaching calamities of his family compelled him to seek a shelter elsewhere.‡

No sooner was the new pontiff firmly seated in the chair of St. Peter, than those jealousies, intrigues, and disputes, among the potentates of Italy, which had for some time past almost ceased to agitate that country, began again to revive, and prepared the way, not only for a long series of bloodshed and misery, but for events which overturned in a great degree the political fabric of Italy, and materially affected the rest of

* Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. i.

† Muratori, Ann. vol. ix. p. 566.

‡ Ammirato, Ritratti d'uomini illustri di Casa Medici. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 64.

Europe. During the minority of his nephew, Gian-Galeazzo, Lodovico Sforza had possessed the entire direction of the government of Milan, as guardian and representative of the young prince.[82] Gratified by the exercise of the supreme authority, he looked forwards with vexation and with dread to the time when he was to relinquish his trust into the hands of his rightful sovereign; and having at length silenced the voice of conscience, and extinguished the sense of duty, he began to adopt such measures as he thought most likely to deprive his nephew of his dominions, and vest the sovereignty in himself. For this purpose he entrusted the command of the fortresses and strongholds of the country to such persons only as he knew were devoted to his interests. The revenue of the state, which was then very considerable,* became in his hands the means of corrupting the soldiery and their leaders. All honours, offices, and favours depended upon his will; and so completely had he concentrated in himself the power and resources of the state, that, if we may give credit to an historian of those times, the young duke and his consort Isabella, the daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, were nearly deprived of the common necessaries of life. With all these precautions the authority of Lodovico was yet insecure, and the final success of his purpose doubtful. The hereditary right of Gian-Galeazzo to his dominions was unimpeachable, and he was now of age to take upon himself the supreme authority.[83] His wife, Isabella of Aragon, was a woman of a firm and independent spirit, and by her he had already several children. Under these circumstances it was scarcely to be supposed, that Lodovico could divest his nephew of the government without incurring the resentment of the princes of the house of Aragon, who might probably also excite the other states of Italy to avenge the cause of an injured sovereign. That these apprehensions were not without foundation, he had already received a decisive proof. The degraded state to which Isabella and her husband were reduced, had compelled her to represent by letter to her father Alfonso their dangers and their sufferings, in consequence of which, a formal embassy had been despatched from the king of Naples to Lodovico, to prevail

* Corio states the ducal revenue at this period at 600,000 ducats, lib. vii. p. 883.

upon him to relinquish the supreme authority into the hands of his lawful prince.* This measure, instead of answering the intended purpose, served only to demonstrate to Lodovico the dangers which he had to apprehend, and the necessity of forming such alliances as might enable him to repel any hostile attempt.

In turning his eye for this purpose towards the other states of Italy, there was no place which he regarded with more anxiety than the city of Florence; not only on account of the situation of its territory, which might open the way to a direct attack upon him, but from the suspicions which he already entertained, that Piero de' Medici had been induced to unite his interests with those of the family of Aragon, in preference to the house of Sforza, a suspicion not indeed without foundation, and which some circumstances that occurred at this period amply confirmed.

On the elevation of Alexander VI. it had been determined to despatch an embassy from Florence to congratulate the new pontiff. As a similar mark of respect to the pope was adopted by all the states of Italy, it was proposed by Lodovico Sforza, that in order to demonstrate the intimate union and friendship which then subsisted among them, the different ambassadors should all make their public entry into Rome, and pay their adoration to the pope on the same day. This proposition was universally agreed to; but Piero de' Medici, who had been nominated as one of the Florentine envoys, proud of his superior rank, which he conceived would be degraded by his appearing amidst an assembly of delegates, and perhaps desirous of displaying in the eyes of the Roman people an extraordinary degree of splendour, for which he had made great preparations, felt a repugnance to comply with the general determination. Unwilling, however, to oppose the project openly, he applied to the king of Naples, requesting him, if possible, to prevent its execution, by alleging that it would rather tend to disturb than to confirm the repose of Italy, and to introduce disputes respecting precedency which might eventually excite jealousy and resentment. The means by which this opposition was effected, could not, however, be concealed from

* Corio, lib. vii. p. 883, where the letter from Isabella to her father is given.

the vigilance of Lodovico, to whom it seemed to impute some degree of blame, in having originally proposed the measure; while it served to convince him, that a secret intercourse subsisted between Ferdinand and Piero de' Medici, which might prove highly dangerous to his designs.

This event was shortly afterwards followed by another, more clearly evincing this connexion. It had long been the policy of the Neapolitan sovereigns, always fearful of the pretensions of the holy see, to maintain a powerful interest among the Roman nobility. On the death of Innocent VIII., his son, Francesco Cibò, preferring the life of a Florentine citizen, with competence and security, to that of a petty sovereign, without a sufficient force to defend his possessions, sold the states of Anguillara and Cervetri to Virginio Orsino, a near relation of Piero de' Medici, and an avowed partisan of Ferdinand of Naples, at whose instance the negotiation was concluded, and who furnished Virginio with the money necessary to effect the purchase. As this measure was adopted without the concurrence of the pope, and evidently tended to diminish his authority, even in the papal state, he not only poured forth the bitterest invectives against all those who had been privy to the transaction, but pretended, that by such alienation the possessions of Francesco had devolved to the holy see.* Nor was Lodovico Sforza less irritated than the pope by this open avowal of confidence between Piero de' Medici and the king of Naples, although he concealed the real motives of his disapprobation under the plausible pretext, that such an alliance formed too preponderating a power for the safety of the rest of Italy.

In endeavouring to secure himself from the perils which he saw, or imagined, in this alliance, Lodovico was induced by his restless genius to adopt the desperate remedy of inviting Charles VIII. of France to make a descent upon Italy, for the purpose of enforcing his claim, as representative of the house of Anjou, to the sovereignty of Naples; an attempt which Lodovico conjectured would, if crowned with success, for ever secure him from those apprehensions, of which he could not divest himself, whilst the family of Aragon continued to occupy the throne of their ancestors.

* Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. i.

With this view, Lodovico, in the early part of the year 1493, despatched the count di Belgioioso as his confidential envoy to France; but as the interference of the French monarch was regarded by him only as a resource in case of necessity, he did not in the mean time neglect any opportunity of attaching to his interests the different sovereigns of Italy. His endeavours were more particularly exerted to effect a closer union with the pope, who, besides the public cause of offence which he had received from the king of Naples, was yet more strongly actuated by the feelings of wounded pride, and of personal resentment. From the time of his elevation to the pontificate, the aggrandizement of his family became the leading motive of his conduct; and very soon afterwards he had ventured to propose a treaty of marriage between his youngest son, Geoffroi, and Sancia of Aragon, a natural daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, with whom he expected his son would obtain a rich territory in the kingdom of Naples. Alfonso, who abhorred the pontiff, and whose pride was probably wounded by the proposal of such an alliance, found means to raise such obstacles against it, as wholly frustrated the views of the pope. The common causes of resentment which Lodovico Sforza and the pontiff entertained against the family of Aragon, were mutually communicated to each other by means of the cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had been promoted by Alexander to the important office of vice-chancellor of the holy see; and on the twenty-first day of April, 1493, a league was concluded between the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians, the latter of whom had been induced, by the solicitations of Lodovico Sforza, to concur in this measure. By this treaty, which gave a new aspect to the affairs of Italy, the parties engaged for the joint defence of their dominions. The pope was also to have the assistance of his colleagues in obtaining possession of the territories and fortresses occupied by Virginio Orsino. But although the formalities were expedited in the name of Gian-Galeazzo, the rightful sovereign of Milan, yet an article was introduced for maintaining the authority of Lodovico as chief director of the state.

As these proceedings could be regarded by the family of Aragon in no other light than as preliminaries to direct hosti-

lities, they excited great apprehensions in the mind of Ferdinand, who was well aware how little cause he had to rely on the assistance of his nobility and powerful feudatories, in resisting any hostile attack. The direct consequences of this league were, however, such as to induce a closer union between the family of Aragon and the state of Florence; in consequence of which, Piero de' Medici, as the chief of that republic, no longer hesitated to avow his connexions with Ferdinand. In the first impulse of resentment, it was proposed between Piero, and Alfonso, duke of Calabria, that they should join with Prospero, and Fabrizio Colonna, in a design formed by the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, the avowed adversary of Alexander, for attacking the city of Rome; an enterprise to which the sanction of the Orsini, with whom Piero de' Medici possessed great influence, would, in all probability, have given decisive success. In this daring attempt Ferdinand, however, refused to concur; judging it expedient rather to sooth the resentment, and, perhaps, in some degree, to gratify the wishes of his adversaries, than to involve himself in a contest, the result of which he could not contemplate without the most alarming apprehensions. On this account he not only determined to withdraw his opposition to the pope, respecting the possessions of Virginio Orsino, but found means to renew the treaty for an alliance between his own family and that of the pontiff. To these propositions Alexander listened with eagerness, and the marriage between Geoffroi Borgia and Sancia of Aragon was finally agreed upon; although, on account of the youth of the parties, a subsequent period was appointed for its consummation.*

No sooner was the intelligence of this new alliance, and the defection of the pope, communicated to Lodovico Sforza, than his fears for the continuance of his usurped authority increased to the most alarming degree, and he determined to hasten, as much as possible, the negotiation in which he was already engaged, for inducing Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples. This young monarch, the only son of Louis XI., had succeeded, on the death of his father, in 1483, to the crown of France, when only twelve years of age. Although destined to the accomplishment of great undertak-

* This treaty was concluded on the 12th day of June, 1493. Murat. An. ix. 569.

ings, he did not derive from nature the characteristics of a hero, either in the endowments of his body or in the qualities of his mind. His stature was low, his person ill-proportioned, his countenance pallid, his head large, his limbs slender, and his feet of so uncommon a breadth, that it was asserted he had more than the usual number of toes. His constitution was so infirm as to render him, in the general opinion, wholly unfit for hardships and military fatigues. His mind was as weak as his body; he had been educated in ignorance, debarred from the commerce of mankind, and on some occasions he manifested a degree of pusillanimity which almost exceeds belief.[34] With all these defects, both natural and acquired, Charles was not destitute of ambition; but it was the ambition of an impotent mind, which, dazzled by the splendour of its object, sees neither the dangers that attend its acquisition, nor the consequences of its attainment. On a character so constituted, the artful representations of Lodovico Sforza were well calculated to produce their full effect; but as the prospect of success opened upon Charles, his views became more enlarged, till at length he began to consider the acquisition of Naples as only an intermediate step to the overthrow of the Turks, and the restoration in his own person of the high dignity of emperor of the east. This idea, which acted at the same time on the pride and on the superstition of the king, Lodovico encouraged to the utmost of his power. In order to give greater importance to his solicitations, he despatched to Paris a splendid embassy of the chief nobility of Milan, at the head of which he placed his former envoy, the count di Belgioioso. With great assiduity and personal address, this nobleman instigated the king to this important enterprise, assuring him of the prompt and effectual aid of Lodovico Sforza, and the favour or neutrality of the other states of Italy, and representing to him the inefficient resources of Ferdinand of Naples, and the odium with which both he and his son Alfonso were regarded by the principal barons of the realm; a truth which was confirmed to Charles by the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, who had sought, in the court of France, a refuge from the resentment of Ferdinand. These solicitations produced the effect which Lodovico intended, and Charles not only engaged in the attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, but, to the sur-

prince of all his courtiers, he determined to lead his army in person.*

The respective claims of the houses of Anjou and Aragon upon the crown of Naples, were, in the estimation of sound sense and enlightened policy, equally devoid of foundation. In all countries, the supreme authority has been supposed to be rightfully vested only in those who claim it by hereditary descent, or by the consenting voice of the people; but, with respect to the kingdom of Naples, each of the contending parties founded its pretensions on a donation of the sovereignty to their respective ancestors. The origin of these contentions is to be traced to a remote assumption of the holy see, by which it was asserted, that the kingdom of Naples was held by its sovereigns as a fief of the church, and in certain cases, on which the pontiffs arrogated to themselves the right of deciding, reverted to its actual disposal. That dominion, which the sovereign had received as the gift of another, it was supposed that he could himself transfer by his voluntary act; the consent of the church being all that was necessary to render such transfer valid; and to this pernicious and absurd idea we are to trace all the calamities which destroyed for several centuries the repose of Italy, and rendered it, on various occasions, the theatre of massacre, of rapine, and of blood.

To balance against each other pretensions which are equally unsubstantial on any principle of sound policy, or even of acknowledged and positive law, may seem superfluous. If long prescription can be presumed to justify that which commenced in violence and in fraud, the title of the house of Anjou may be allowed to have been confirmed by a possession of nearly two centuries, in which the reins of government had been held by several monarchs who had preserved the rights and secured the happiness of their subjects. On the expulsion of Renato, in 1442, by Alfonso of Aragon, the family of Anjou were divested of their dominions; and by several successive bequests, which would scarcely have had sufficient authenticity to transfer a private inheritance from one individual to another, in any country in Europe, the

* Guicciard. lib. i. Murat. Ann. ix. *passim*. Corio. par. vii. p. 880, &c.

rights of the exiled sovereigns became vested in Louis XI., from whom they had descended to his son Charles VIII. The title of Ferdinand was, on the other hand, open to formidable objections; the illegitimacy and usurpation of his ancestor Manfredo, the deduction of his rights by the female line, the long acquiescence of his family, and the circumstances of his own birth, afforded plausible pretexts for the measures adopted against him; but it must be remembered, that the same power which had conferred the kingdom on the family of Anjou, had on another occasion bestowed it on Alfonso, the father of Ferdinand; and the paramount authority of the Roman see, to which both parties alternately resorted, must, in the discussion of their respective claims, be considered as decisive. Alfonso on his death had given it to his son, who, whether capable or not of hereditary succession, might receive a donation, which had been tranferred for ages with as little ceremony as a piece of domestic furniture; and if a nation is ever to enjoy repose, Ferdinand might, at this time, be presumed to be, both *de jure* and *de facto*, king of Naples.

In the discussion of questions of this nature, there is, however, one circumstance which seems not to have been sufficiently attended to, either by the parties themselves, or those who have examined their claims, and which may explain the mutability of the Neapolitan government better than an appeal to hereditary rights, papal endowments, or feudal customs. The object of dominion is not the bare territory of a country, but the command of the men who possess that country. These, it ought to be recollected, are intelligent beings, capable of being rendered happy or miserable by the virtues or the vices of a sovereign, and acting, if not always under the influence of sober reason, with an impulse resulting from the nature of the situation in which they are placed. Whilst the prince, therefore, retains the affections of his people; whilst he calls forth their energies without rendering them ferocious, and secures their repose without debasing their character; the defects of his title to the sovereignty will disappear in the splendour of his virtues. But when he relinquishes the sceptre of the king for the scourge of the tyrant, and the ties of attachment are loosened by reiterated

instances of rapacity, cruelty, and oppression, the road to innovation is already prepared; the approach of an enemy is no longer considered as a misfortune, but as a deliverance; the dry discussion of abstract rights gives way to more imperious considerations; and the adoption of a new sovereign is not so much the result of versatility, of cowardice, or of treachery, as of that invincible necessity, by which the human race are impelled to relieve themselves from intolerable calamities.

The resolution adopted by Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples, was no sooner known in France, than it gave rise to great diversity of opinion among the barons and principal counsellors of the realm; many of whom, as well as his nearest relations, endeavoured to divert him from his purpose, by representing to him the impolicy of quitting his own dominions, the dangers to which he must infallibly expose himself, and, above all, the depressed state of his finances, which were totally inadequate to the preparation of so great an armament. They reminded him of the prudent conduct of his father, who was always averse to the measure which he now proposed to take, and unwilling to involve himself in the intricate web of Italian politics; of the long-established authority of Ferdinand of Naples, confirmed by his late triumphs over his refractory nobles, and of the high military reputation of Alfonso, duke of Calabria, whose expulsion of the Turks from Otranto, in the year 1481, had ranked him amongst the greatest generals of the age. The die was, however, cast; the measure of prosperity in Italy was full; and instead of listening to the remonstrances of his friends, Charles bent his mind on the most speedy means of carrying his purpose into execution. The grandeur of the object called forth energies which none of his courtiers supposed that he possessed. The ardour of the king communicated itself to the populace, whose favour was still farther secured by representing the conquest of Naples as only the preliminary step to that of the capital of the Turkish empire, and to the diffusion of the Catholic faith throughout the eastern world. An ignorant people are never so courageous, or rather so ferocious, as when they conceive themselves to be contending in the cause of religion. Charles had the artifice to avail

himself of this propensity, and to represent his expedition as undertaken to fulfil a particular call from heaven, manifested by ancient prophecies, which had promised him, not only the empire of Constantinople, but also the kingdom of Jerusalem.[86] From all parts of his dominions, his subjects of every rank voluntarily presented themselves to share his honours, or to partake his dangers; and, including some bands of mercenaries, he found himself in a short time at the head of an army, the numbers of which have been very differently estimated, but at the time of his departure it could not, in its different detachments, have consisted of less than fifty thousand men.

Before Charles could, however, engage with any reasonable degree of safety in his intended expedition, some important difficulties yet remained to be overcome. The countenance, or the acquiescence of the principal sovereigns of Europe was indispensably necessary; but although he was on terms of amity with the king of England (Henry VII.) he was involved in quarrels with Ferdinand of Spain, and with Maximilian, king of the Romans. The former of these monarchs, having had occasion to borrow a sum of one hundred thousand ducats, had proposed to Louis XI. that on *his* advancing the money, its repayment should be secured by the possession of the counties of Perpignan and Roussillon, which were accordingly surrendered to him; but when, some years afterwards, *Ferdinand offered to return the money, Louis, being unwilling* to relinquish a district which adjoined his own dominions, refused to perform the stipulations of the agreement. This undisguised instance of perfidy gave occasion to complaints and remonstrances on the part of Ferdinand, to which neither Louis nor his successor had hitherto paid the least regard. But no sooner had Charles determined on his expedition into Italy, than he proposed to restore these provinces to Ferdinand, in such a manner as seemed most likely to secure his future favour. By an embassy despatched for this purpose, he represented to the Spanish monarch, that whilst the crown of France had been attacked on all sides by powerful enemies, and compelled to defend itself at the same time against the late Emperor Frederic, the king of England, and the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, both he and his father had retained

these provinces, notwithstanding the threats and remonstrances of the court of Spain; but that having now repulsed or conciliated all his enemies, and having nothing to apprehend from any hostile attack, he had resolved to restore these contested territories, without any other compensation than the friendship and alliance of Ferdinand. The restitution accordingly took place, and was soon followed by a treaty between the two sovereigns, in which Ferdinand solemnly engaged that he would not interfere in the concerns of Naples, notwithstanding the near degree of relationship which subsisted between him and the sovereign of that kingdom and his family, to whom he was connected by the ties of both consanguinity and affinity.* Charles did not, however, consider this treaty, which had been concluded with the ambassadors of Ferdinand at Lyons, as an effectual security for his neutrality; for he soon afterwards despatched his envoys to Madrid, who required and obtained the personal and solemn oath, not only of Ferdinand himself, but of his queen Isabella, and their son John, prince of Castile, then of mature age, to the same effect.

The disagreement between Charles and Maximilian, king of the Romans, was of a much more delicate nature. During the life of his father, Charles had been betrothed to Margaretta, the daughter of Maximilian, who was accordingly sent to France, whilst an infant, to be educated among her future subjects; but when the time approached that the nuptial ceremony should have taken place, circumstances occurred which induced Charles to change his intentions, and to disregard his engagements. Francis, duke of Bretagne, who then held his rich and extensive domains as an independent prince, finding himself at open war with the French monarch, had been led, by the hopes of a powerful alliance, to engage his daughter Anna in marriage to Maximilian. After the death of the duke, Charles persevered in his hostilities, and notwithstanding the interference of Henry VII. of England, who sent a body of troops to the relief of the young duchess, the greater part of her territories was occupied by

* The two sovereigns were brothers' children, and Ferdinand of Naples had married, for his second wife, Joanna, the sister of Ferdinand of Spain.

the French troops, and the duchess herself, besieged in her capital of Rennes, was at length obliged to submit to the terms imposed by the conqueror. The youth and beauty of the duchess, and the important advantages which Charles foresaw from the union of her dominions with his own, induced him, notwithstanding his engagements with Margaretta of Austria, to make her proposals of marriage, and her consent being with some difficulty obtained, the nuptials were accordingly carried into immediate effect. Nor can it be denied, that this union, politically considered, was highly judicious; as it secured to Charles the command of a country naturally formed to be governed with his own, and at the same time prevented the powerful family of Austria from establishing itself in the vicinity of the French dominions.* But with respect to Maximilian, the conduct of Charles included two indignities of the most unpardonable nature: the repudiating his innocent daughter, and the depriving him of his betrothed wife. Maximilian was not, however, prepared for hostile measures; and the animosity to which these events gave rise, soon became a matter of negotiation, in which Lodovico Sforza interposed his good offices. In the month of June, 1493, a treaty was concluded between the two sovereigns, by which it was agreed that Margaretta should be restored to her father, with her intended dowry, and that Charles should be released from his contract.† The disappointment of Maximilian Lodovico alleviated by recommending to him his niece, Bianca Maria, whom Maximilian soon afterwards took to wife; whilst his daughter Margaretta found a husband in John, prince of Castile, the son of Ferdinand and Isabella, and presumptive heir to the Spanish monarchy; after whose death, in 1497, she married Filiberto, duke of Savoy.

Nor did Charles VIII. in preparing for his Neapolitan expedition, implicitly rely upon the representations of Lodovico Sforza, with respect to the disposition of the other states of Italy. On the contrary, he despatched his emissaries, with directions to obtain, if not the assurance of their assist-

* Mémoire sur le Mariage de Charles Dauphin, &c. inserted in the collection of Du Mont, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 404. Bacon, Hist. Ren. VII.

† Corio, par. vii. p. 898.

ance, at least the knowledge of their intentions. The principal argument on which he relied for conciliating their favour, was the avowal of his determination to attempt the recovery of Constantinople, and the duty imposed upon all Christendom to assist him in so magnanimous and pious an enterprise. In order to obtain greater credit to these assertions, he assumed the titles of king of Sicily and Jerusalem. His chief endeavours were, however, employed to prevail upon the Florentines and the pope to withdraw themselves from their alliance with Ferdinand. The answer which he obtained from the former was equivocal and unsatisfactory. Whilst they assured the king, in private, of their good wishes, they excused themselves from a public avowal of them, lest they should incur the resentment of Ferdinand of Naples, who, by turning his arms against the Tuscan territory, might render it the seat of the war. Such were the sentiments of the Florentine government, as sanctioned by Piero de' Medici; but the intelligence of the intentions of the French monarch was received with inconceivable joy by a considerable number of the most powerful inhabitants of Florence, who were hostile to the views of Piero, and conceived that, in the commotions likely to arise from such a contest, they should find an opportunity of divesting him of his authority. Among these, the most distinguished by their wealth and rank were Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, and grandsons of the elder Lorenzo, the brother of Cosmo, "Pater Patriæ." These young men, jealous of the superior authority of Piero and his brothers in the affairs of Florence, had endeavoured, by their liberality and affability, and above all, by avowing a decided attachment to the liberties of the people, to establish themselves in the favour of the public; in which attempt they had not been wholly unsuccessful. From them and their friends, the envoys of Charles received a secret assurance, that if he would persevere in his intentions, they would not only promote his views to the utmost of their power, but would also undertake to supply him with a large sum of money, towards defraying the expenses of his expedition. The conduct of the two brothers was, however, regarded with a suspicious eye. They had already shewn a decided par-

tiality to the French king; and certain information having been obtained of a secret correspondence with him, their persons were seized upon by the orders of Piero de' Medici, who has been accused of having entertained private causes of resentment against them, and of wishing to avail himself of this opportunity of gratifying his enmity, by depriving them of their lives.* Their misconduct was, however, apparent; and, after a long discussion, and the interference of many powerful friends, they were ordered, by a lenient sentence, to remain at their villas in the vicinity of Florence; but they soon broke the conditions imposed on them, and fled to France, where, by their personal interference, they encouraged the king to persevere in his claims.

In order to palliate these proceedings to the French king, and to conciliate, if possible, his indulgence and favour, Gentile, bishop of Arezzo, and Piero Soderini, afterwards Gonfaloniere for life, were despatched as ambassadors of the republic to France.† They found the king in the city of Toulouse, where, being admitted to an interview, they entreated him not to press the citizens of Florence to take an immediate and decided part in the approaching contest, and represented to him the dangers which they must inevitably incur by such a measure. They artfully extolled the greatness of his name, the extent of his dominions, and the numbers and courage of his troops; but they also suggested to him, that he was separated from Italy by the formidable barrier of the Alps, and that whilst he was hastening to the protection of the Florentines, they might fall a sacrifice to the merited resentment of Ferdinand of Naples. At the same time they assured him, that as soon as he should have surmounted these obstacles, and made his appearance in Italy, he should find them disposed to render him every assistance in their power. The purport of this discourse was too obvious to escape the animadversion of Charles, whose indignation it excited to such a degree, that he not only drove the ambas-

* Nardi gives us reason to believe that there were very sufficient grounds for the proceedings, which he adverts to, as having fallen within his own knowledge many years afterwards. Nardi, Hist. Flor. lib. i. p. 10.

† Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine, iii. 190.

sadors from his presence, but threatened instantly to seize upon the property of all the Florentines within his realm, and to expel them from his dominions: and although he was prevented, by his advisers, from carrying this purpose into execution, he ordered that the agents of Piero de' Medici should instantly be sent from the city of Lyons, where the family had carried on the business of bankers for a long course of years; thereby clearly manifesting from what quarter he conceived the opposition to arise.*

For the purpose of ascertaining the views of Alexander VI. Charles had despatched a second embassy to Rome, at the head of which was his general and confidential friend D'Aubigny. The success of this mission was highly desirable to him; as its principal object was to obtain from Alexander, by promises on the one hand, or by threats on the other, the formal investiture of the kingdom of Naples. If, as it has been asserted by many historians, Alexander had before concurred in inciting the king to this undertaking, he did not scruple, on the present occasion, to change his sentiments; and his reply was not favourable to the hopes of Charles. He entreated him to remember, that the kingdom of Naples had been three times conceded by the holy see to the family of Aragon, the investiture of Ferdinand having expressly included that of his son Alfonso; that these adjudications could not be rendered void, unless it appeared judicially that Charles had a superior right, which could not be affected by these acts of investiture, in which there was an express reservation, that they should not prejudice the rights of any person; that the dominion of Naples being under the immediate protection of the holy see, the pontiff could not persuade himself that his most Christian Majesty would so openly oppose himself to the Church, as to hazard, without its concurrence, a hostile attack on that kingdom; that it would be more consistent with his known moderation and dignity, to assert his pretensions in a civil form; in which case Alexander, as the sole judge of the right, declared himself ready to enter upon the discussion of the claims of the respective parties. Those remonstrances he afterwards more fully en-

* Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. i. 1. 32.

forced in an apostolic brief, in which he exhorted the French monarch to unite his arms with those of the other sovereigns of Europe, against the common enemies of Christendom, and to submit his claims on the kingdom of Naples to the decision of a pacific judicature.[87] Instead of altering the purpose, these admonitions only excited the resentment of the king, who, in return, avowed his determination to expel Alexander from the pontifical throne.*

The answers obtained by the envoys of the king, from the duke of Savoy, the republic of Venice, and other governments of Italy, expressed in general terms their great respect for the French monarch, and their reluctance to engage in so dangerous a contest; but the duke of Ferrara, although he had married a daughter of Ferdinand, king of Naples, actuated, as has been supposed, by the hope of availing himself of the aid of the French against his powerful enemies the Venetians, did not hesitate to encourage the French monarch, in the most open manner, to persevere in his claims.[88]

The negotiations and precautions resorted to by Charles, preparatory to his Italian expedition, were such as a wise adviser would have suggested, and a prudent commander would not fail to adopt. He was also assiduous in collecting those necessary supplies of warlike stores, ammunition, and artillery of various kinds, the use of which had then been lately introduced, and on which he chiefly relied for the success of his undertaking.[89] Yet, if we may believe a writer who himself acted no unimportant part in the transactions of the times, the conduct of the French monarch was a series of obstinacy, folly, and indecision.† "The king," says he, "had neither money nor talents for such an enterprise; the success of which can only be attributed to the grace of God, who shewed his power most manifestly on this occasion." And again, "The king was very young, weak in body, obstinate, surrounded by few persons of prudence or experience; money he had none, insomuch, that before his departure he was obliged to borrow one hundred thousand francs from a banker at Genoa, at an enormous interest, as well as to resort to other

* Benedetti, Fatto d'arme del Tarro, tradotto da Domenichi, p. 5, ed. Ven. 1545.

† Commines, liv. vii. chap. 4, p. 192.

places for assistance. He had neither tent nor pavilion, and in this state he began his march into Lombardy. One thing only seemed favourable to him; he had a gallant company, consisting chiefly of young gentlemen, though with little discipline. This expedition must therefore have been the work of God, both in going and returning; for the understanding of its conductors could render it very little service, although it must be acknowledged that it has terminated in the acquisition of no small share of honour and glory to their master."[90] Even at the moment of departure, although the king was unceasingly pressed by the envoys of Lodovico Sforza, he displayed a strong disinclination to commence his journey; and as he fluctuated according to the advice of his counsellors, he changed his purpose from day to day. At length he determined to set forwards on his expedition; "but even then," says Commines, "when I had begun my journey I was sent back, and told that the attempt was relinquished." How then shall we reconcile the external demonstrations of perseverance, prudence, and magnanimity, to which we have before adverted, with these internal marks of imbecility and weakness of mind? In truth, the history of mankind is susceptible of being represented under very different aspects; and whilst one narrator informs us of the ostensible conduct of sovereigns and their agents on the public stage of life, another intrudes himself behind the curtain, and discovers to us by what paltry contrivances the wires are played, and by what contemptible causes those effects, which we so highly admire, are in fact produced.

Whilst preparations were thus making by Charles for his intended expedition, the sagacious mind of Ferdinand of Naples had maturely compared the probable impulse of the attack, with the known practicability of resistance, and the result of his deliberations was such as to occasion to him no small share of anxiety. He well knew that the arms of the French king were not only superior to any force which he, with his utmost exertions, could oppose to them, but in all probability to that of all the Italian states united. On his allies he could place no firm reliance; and if he did not suspect their duplicity, or dread their inconstancy, he could only expect them to act as circumstances might prescribe; or, in other words, to

attach themselves to the conquering party. From his relative, the king of Spain, he could hope for no assistance, for he had solemnly disavowed and abjured his cause; and if he resorted to the aid of his own subjects, he only saw, on every hand, the indications of tumult and rebellion, the natural consequences of a severity which had alienated the affections of his barons, and reduced his people to servitude. Under these circumstances, he resolved to try whether it might not yet be possible, by prudent negotiation and timely submission, to avert the dangers with which he was threatened; and in this respect he proposed to avail himself of the interference of Carlotta, the daughter of his second son Federigo, who was related to Charles by consanguinity, and had been educated in his court.* He also despatched, as his ambassador, Camillo Pandone, who had formerly been his representative in France, with offers to Charles of a considerable annual tribute, if he would relinquish his enterprise; but the humiliation of Ferdinand rather excited the hopes, than averted the purpose, of his adversary; and his ambassador was remanded without a public hearing. In his applications to Lodovico Sforza, although he met with an exterior civility, he was, in fact, equally unsuccessful; nor could he, indeed, reasonably hope for any satisfactory engagement with that ever-variable politician, who, in weaving the web for the destruction of others, was at length entangled in it himself.

Nor was Ferdinand, whilst he was thus endeavouring to avert, by negotiation, the dangers with which he was threatened, remiss in collecting together such a force as his own states afforded for his defence. A fleet of about forty galleys was speedily prepared for action; and by great exertions and expense, a body of troops was collected, which, including the various descriptions of soldiery, amounted to about seven thousand men. But whilst Ferdinand was thus endeavouring to secure himself from the approaching storm, he found a more effectual shelter from its violence in a sudden death, hastened, perhaps, by the joint effects of vexation and fatigue, on the twenty-fifth day of January, 1494, when he had nearly attained the seventy-first year of his age.[91]

* Federigo of Aragon married Anna, daughter of Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who was brother of Carlotta, queen of Louis XI.

The stipulations entered into between Ferdinand and Alexander VI. had, however, for the present, effectually secured the favour of the pontiff, which, on this occasion, was of the greatest importance to Alfonso, the son and successor of Ferdinand, who found no difficulty in obtaining the bull of investiture. He was accordingly crowned, with great pomp, at Naples, on the seventh day of May, 1494, by Giovanni Borgia, nephew of the pope, and cardinal of Monreale, who was sent from Rome to perform the ceremony. Immediately after his accession to the crown, Alfonso appointed the celebrated Pontano his chief secretary; nor, if we may judge from the commendations bestowed on him by the Neapolitan scholars, was this the only instance in which he shewed his respect for literature.[92]

Soon after the ceremonial of the coronation, the nuptials of Geoffroi Borgia with Sancia of Aragon were celebrated, the bride being at that time seventeen, and the husband only thirteen years of age. The magnificence of these formalities was as ill suited to the alarming situation of the Aragonese family, as the expense was to their necessities. The pope and the king seemed to contend with each other which should be most lavish of his bounty; but Alexander dispensed only the favours and dignities of the church, whilst Alfonso sacrificed the revenues of his estates, and diminished those pecuniary resources of which he stood so greatly in need. Lodovico, the son of Don Henry, natural brother of the king, was on this occasion received into the sacred college, and was afterwards known by the name of the cardinal of Aragon; and the pope released Alfonso, during his life, from the nominal tribute, so constantly, but ineffectually, claimed by the holy see from the sovereigns of Naples. On the other hand, the king invested Giovanni Borgia, eldest son of the pope, already created duke of Gandia, with the principality of Tricarica, and other rich domains in the kingdom of Naples, of the annual value of twelve thousand ducats; to which he also added the promise of the first of the seven great offices of state that should become vacant. Nor was Cæsar Borgia, the second son of Alexander, forgotten on this occasion; another grant of a considerable income from the kingdom of Naples being thought necessary to enable him to support the

of his rank, as one of the cardinals of the church. Two hundred thousand ducats were expended in the dowry and paraphernalia of the bride; and tournaments and feasts, which were continued for several days, seemed to afford both the people and their rulers a short respite from their approaching calamities.

The alliance and support of the pope being thus secured, Alfonso prepared for war; and as a proof that he meant, in the first instance, to resort to vigorous measures, he dismissed from his capital the Milanese ambassador, at the same time sequestrating the revenues of the duchy of Bari, which had been conferred by his father on Lodovico Sforza. By a secret intercourse with the cardinal Fregoso, and Obietto da Fiesco, who then enjoyed great authority in Genoa, he attempted to deprive the duke of Milan of his dominion over that state; and that nothing might be wanting on his part to secure himself against the impending attack, he despatched ambassadors to the Sultan Bajazet, to represent to him, that the avowed object of the French king was the overthrow of the Ottoman empire, and to request that he would immediately send a strong reinforcement to his relief. The lessons of experience, which form the wisdom of individuals, seem to be lost on the minds of rulers; otherwise Alfonso might have discovered, that his most effectual safeguard was in the affections of his people, who, if his conduct had entitled him to their favour, would have been found sufficiently powerful for his defence; whilst, on the contrary, the aversion of his own subjects, accumulated by repeated instances of a cruel and unrelenting disposition, both before and after his accession to the throne, was an internal malady which no foreign aid could remove.

The opinions, debates, and negotiations, to which the intended expedition gave rise among the smaller states of Italy, each of whom had their ambassadors and partisans constantly employed, combined to form such an intricate tissue of political intrigue, as it would be equally useless and tiresome to unravel. It is not, however, difficult to perceive, that these petty sovereigns, instead of uniting in any great and general plan of defence, were each of them labouring to secure his private interests, or to avail himself of any circum-

stance in the approaching commotions that might contribute to his own aggrandizement. In the conflagration that was speedily to involve the political fabric of Italy, the contest, therefore, was not who should most assist in extinguishing the flames, but who should obtain the greatest share of the spoil.

The determination of Charles VIII. to attempt the conquest of Naples now became every day more apparent. D'Aubigny, one of the most experienced commanders in the service of the French monarch, had, after his interview with the pope, been directed to remain in Italy, where he had already the command of a small body of French troops, which had been assembled in the territories of Milan:[93] and by the assistance of Lodovico Sforza, and his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, several of the Italian nobility and condottieri, regardless to whom they sold their services, undertook to furnish the king with a stipulated number of cavalry, or men at arms. Among these mercenaries were some of the chief barons of the Roman state, and particularly those of the families of Colonna, Orsini, and Savelli.* This daring instance of insubordination in the Roman nobility alarmed the pontiff, and afforded too plausible a pretext for those severities which he afterwards exercised against them.

In order to concert together the means for their common defence, it was proposed, between Alfonso and the pope, that they should meet at the town of Vico, about twenty miles from Rome, whither Alexander accordingly repaired, accompanied by many of the cardinals, the Venetian and Florentine legates, and about five hundred horse. He was there met by Alfonso, who, with unavailing humility, professed his willingness to rest his cause on the decision of the sacred college and the ambassadors of the neutral courts.† After this interview Alexander returned in haste to Rome, with the resolution of suppressing the Roman nobility, who were now in arms, and openly avowed their attachment to the cause of the French; but he found them so posted, and their numbers so considerably increased, that he thought it

* These auxiliaries are enumerated by Corio, par. vii. p. 923.
† Corio, par. vii. p. 925.

advisable to relinquish the attempt for the present, and to reserve his vengeance for a future day.

Alfonso now determined to take the command of his army in person, and appointed his brother Federigo admiral of his fleet. With the former, it was his intention to advance into Romagna, and oppose himself to the threatened hostilities of D'Aubigny; whilst the latter was directed to proceed to Genoa, for the purpose of affording the citizens of that place an opportunity of freeing themselves from the dominion of the house of Sforza.[94]

The cardinal Fregoso and his nephew, with Obietto da Fiesco, and other Genoese exiles, accompanied the armament of Federigo, which was provided with materials for burning the fleet in the harbour of Genoa, and for destroying the preparations which the French had, for some time past, been making there. About the end of the month of June the Neapolitan flotilla sailed from Civita Vecchia, having on board four thousand soldiers, and a considerable quantity of artillery. Its arrival in the gulf of Spezia was immediately announced to Louis, duke of Orleans, who had preceded Charles in his expedition into Italy, and had arrived at Asti, where he was employed in concerting with Lodovico Sforza the measures to be adopted in commencing the war. Selecting for his purpose a body of two thousand infantry and five hundred light-armed horse, he repaired to Genoa, where the partisans of the French had prepared for service seven large ships with heavy artillery, besides several smaller vessels, on which they had embarked six hundred men, under the command of the French general D'Urfé.* Detachments from Genoa were also sent to protect the coast; and, in an attempt made by the Aragonese to possess themselves of Porto Venere, they were repulsed with some loss, and retired to Leghorn, to repair their damage. They soon, however, proceeded again towards the coast of Genoa, and effected a landing at Rapallo, where they began to intrench themselves; but the duke of Orleans, having assumed the command of the Genoese fleet, which had been reinforced by four large ships, and having taken on board about a

* Called by Corio, "Monsignore Orfeo," par. vii. p. 927.

thousand Swiss mercenaries, hastened towards that place; whilst a body of troops, under the command of Anton-Maria da Sanseverino and Giovanni Adorno, were directed to proceed along the coast, and co-operate with the duke.* On the first attack the Swiss troops were repulsed by the Neapolitans; but the detachment by land arriving to their assistance, the engagement was renewed; and the Neapolitans, conceiving themselves likely to be surrounded, took to flight, and abandoned their enterprise, with the loss of about two hundred men killed, besides a considerable number of prisoners. To this victory, the heavy artillery of one of the French ships, which was brought to bear upon the Neapolitan troops, greatly contributed.[95] Such of the fugitives as fell into the hands of the Genoese, after being plundered, were suffered to escape; but the Swiss shewed no mercy to the vanquished; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of their allies, stormed and plundered the town of Rapallo, where, among other enormities, they slaughtered even the sick in the hospitals. The indignation which this cruelty excited at Genoa, had nearly effected that which the Neapolitan armament had failed to accomplish. On the return of the troops to that city, the populace rose and massacred several of the Swiss soldiery; and the duke of Orleans, instead of returning from his expedition in triumph, was under the necessity of taking precautions for his safety before he ventured to disembark.†

In the mean time, it became necessary to check the progress of D'Aubigny, who, having now collected a considerable force, had entered Romagna, and was proceeding, without interruption, towards the territories of Naples. The command of the detachment intended for this purpose was relinquished by Alfonso to his son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, who, at the head of a body of troops, superior in number to the French and their allies, took his station between the branches of the Po. He there presented himself for some hours in order of battle, and by his courage and promptitude conciliated to his cause no small share of popular favour.[96] For some time, the French and Neapolitan armies

* Giustiniani, Annali di Genoa, lib. v. p. 249, b.
† Ibid., lib. v. p. 250.

were encamped within a mile of each other; but D'Aubigny prudently declined a contest. As the enemy increased in force, Ferdinand in his turn was compelled to retreat. The intelligence of the disaster at Rapallo, and the certainty of the approach of Charles VIII., had contributed to dispirit the Neapolitan troops: and at the moment when the duke of Calabria ought, by the vigour and decision of his measures, to have confirmed the wavering minds of the Italian potentates, he gave the omen of his future ruin, by retiring under the walls of Faenza; where, instead of attempting offensive operations, he was satisfied with fortifying himself against an attack.*

On the twenty-second day of August, 1494, Charles took his departure from Vienne; and, passing through Grenoble, crossed the Alps, and arrived at Turin; where he was received with great honour by Bianca, widow of Charles, duke of Savoy. Of the splendid appearance of the duchess and her court, a particular description is given by one of the attendants of the French monarch.[97] Such was the profusion of jewels displayed on this occasion, that Charles, whose resources were not very ample, conceived that a favourable opportunity was afforded him for improving them; of this he accordingly availed himself, by borrowing a great part of these superfluous ornaments, which he immediately pledged for a sum of twelve thousand ducats. During his residence at Turin, he was entertained by such exhibitions as were then esteemed the most extraordinary efforts of ingenuity. On the sixth day of September he quitted that city and proceeded to Chieri, where his progress was again retarded for some days, by the amusements and representations which had been prepared for him, in which the most beautiful women of Italy were selected to congratulate him on his approach, and to crown him "Champion of the honour of the fair."[98] On his arrival at Asti he was met by Lodovico Sforza, accompanied by his duchess, Beatrice of Este, the splendour of whose dress and equipage astonished his followers. The attention of Lodovico had here provided him with a number of beautiful courtesans from Milan, who were honoured by

* Guicciard. lib. i. vol. i. p. 48.

the notice, and rewarded by the liberality of the French monarch. At this place his expedition had, however, nearly been brought to a premature termination; for he was seized with a disorder which confined him for some days to his chamber, and is said to have endangered his life.[99]

Whilst the king remained at Asti, he received information of the success of the duke of Orleans at Genoa, and of the retreat of Ferdinand of Aragon before the arms of D'Aubigny. He did not, however, quit that place before the sixth day of October, when he proceeded to Casale, the capital city of the marquis of Montferrat. At this place he met with a reception similar to that which he had experienced at Turin, and repaid it in a similar manner by borrowing the jewels of the marchioness, who was the mother of the duchess of Savoy, upon which he raised at Genoa a further sum of money. He then hastened with his army to Pavia, where some jealousy arose between him and Lodovico Sforza, who consented, as a pledge of his fidelity, to place the fortress of the city in his hands. On this occasion, Charles had an interview with his near relation Gian-Galeazzo, the unfortunate duke of Milan, who then lay at the point of death, a victim to the ambition of his uncle Lodovico. The duchess Isabella availed herself of this opportunity to throw herself at the feet of the monarch, to entreat his interference on behalf of her husband, and his forbearance towards her father and family; but the importunities of a daughter, a wife, and a mother, were lost on the depraved mind of Charles, and served only to excite the unfeeling remarks of his barbarian attendants.* The duke did not long survive this interview; and Lodovico, having attained the height of his wishes, was saluted by a band of venal partisans, and a corrupt populace, as duke of Milan. His wife, Beatrice, daughter of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, who had long and arrogantly contended with Isabella for precedence in rank and honours, now enjoyed a complete, but temporary triumph over her rival, who was driven from the court of Milan, and obliged, with her children, to take refuge in an obscure and sickly cell of the castle of Pavia.[100]

* Commines, lib. vii. chap. vi. p. 196.

On the arrival of Charles at Piacenza, a few days after this interview, he received intelligence of the death of the duke, Gian-Galeazzo; and although he had not the generosity to interfere on his behalf, he was shocked at a catastrophe which he had taken no measures to prevent, and celebrated his obsequies with great state and formality.* That the duke died by poison, administered to him at the instance of Lodovico Sforza, was the general opinion; and Theodoro of Pavia, an eminent physician, who had accompanied the king of France, in his interview with the duke, declared, that he had perceived manifest symptoms of its effects.† A sudden panic seized the French monarch. The perpetration of such a crime filled him with apprehensions for his own safety. He had already entertained well-grounded suspicions of the fidelity of Lodovico Sforza, and had experienced considerable difficulties in obtaining the necessary supplies for his troops. In this situation he began seriously to hesitate on the expediency of prosecuting his expedition; and his doubts were increased by a communication from his general and grandecuyer, D'Urfé, then at Genoa, advising him to be on his guard against treachery. Such of his attendants as had been the first to encourage him to this undertaking, were now the most earnest in advising him to abandon it; and had not the Florentine exiles, and particularly Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco de' Medici, actuated by the hopes of supplanting the rival branch of their family, at this critical juncture interposed their solicitations, and offered their services to the king, it is probable that Italy might yet have been saved from her impending calamities.

Having recovered from his alarm, Charles quitted Piacenza on the twenty-fifth day of October. A question of great moment now presented itself for his consideration: whether he should proceed through the Tuscan and Roman territories directly to Naples, or, by forcing a passage through Romagna and the March of Ancona, enter that kingdom by the district of Abruzzo. The judicious determination of the king and his advisers on this occasion, was of the utmost importance to the

* Commines, Mém. lib. vii. chap. vii. p. 179. (Corr. 197.)
† Guicciard. lib. i. p. 49.

success of his enterprise. In relinquishing the track through Romagna, he was not deterred by the opposition which he might there meet, from the duke of Calabria, who had already retreated before the arms of D'Aubigny; but he prudently considered, that, unless he could either secure the alliance of the pope and the Florentines, or disable them from resistance, he might, during his contest with Alfonso in Naples, be exposed to the hostile attack of these adjacent states. Instead, therefore, of directing his course towards Bologna, he ordered the duke Mompensier, one of the princes of the family of Bourbon, to proceed with the advanced guard to Pontremoli, a town on the river Magro, which divides the Tuscan territory from that of Genoa; to which place Charles followed with the remainder of his army, having passed the Apennines, by the mountain of Parma. From Pontremoli, Mompensier proceeded through the district of Luigiano to Fivizano, a fortress belonging to the Florentines; and being there joined by the Swiss mercenaries, who had returned from Genoa, and brought with them several heavy pieces of artillery, the French attacked the castle, which they carried by storm, and put both the garrison and inhabitants to the sword. The town of Sarzana, which had been acquired by the prudence, and fortified under the directions of Lorenzo the Magnificent, next opposed their progress; and, although the number of soldiers employed in its defence was small, and the commander of little experience or reputation, yet such was the situation and strength of the place, and of the adjacent citadel of Sarzanella, that the carrying them by force was regarded as a matter of considerable difficulty. Nor could the French army long have retained its position, in a situation between the sea and the mountains, where, from the sterility of the district, they could scarcely hope to obtain supplies. To proceed forwards, whilst these formidable positions remained in the hands of an enemy, was equally inconsistent with the honour and the safety of the king.*

In this emergency, the unhappy dissensions which prevailed among the citizens of Florence again relieved the French from their difficulties. From the time that the ap-

* Guicciard. lib. i.; Mém. de Comm. lib. viii. chap. 7, vol. i. pp. 50, 51.

proach of the king had been announced, the resentment of the inhabitants had been chiefly directed against Piero de' Medici, whom they considered as the principal cause of the dangers which they were likely to incur. On his part, Piero had endeavoured to regain their confidence, by active preparations for resisting the enemy; to which end he had strengthened the city of Pisa, and other fortified towns of the republic, and had, particularly, provided for the defence of Florence. These preparations were not, however, effected without expense, and the levies imposed upon the citizens became an additional cause of dissatisfaction. He then endeavoured to avail himself of the voluntary contributions of the richer classes; but, instead of the necessary aid, he obtained only reproaches and threats. Alarmed and dispirited, he adopted the hasty resolution of repairing in person to the French camp, for the purpose of endeavouring to conciliate the favour of Charles, by such timely concessions as circumstances might require. He therefore privately quitted the city, and hastened to Empoli, a few miles distant from Florence; whence he addressed a letter to the magistrates, which is yet preserved, and which fully explains the motives of his conduct at this period so critical to the fortunes of himself and his family.

"Magnificent and honoured Fathers,

"I shall not attempt to apologize for my sudden departure, because I can scarcely think myself culpable for taking a measure which, according to my weak judgment, appears to be the best remedy for restoring the tranquillity of my country, and which at the same time is attended with less danger and inconvenience than any other, both to the public and to individuals; excepting only myself. I therefore intend to present myself in person before his most Christian majesty of France, as I may probably thus be enabled to appease the resentment which he has conceived against this city, for the conduct which it has hitherto been obliged to adopt, in consequence of its engagements with other states; it appearing to be only his majesty's wish, that an alteration should take place in this respect. I, who have been blamed as the cause of this animosity, will, therefore, either exculpate myself to

his majesty, or shall be ready to receive due punishment, rather in my own person than in the body of the republic. Of this course of conduct, particular instances have been given in my own family; but I consider myself as under much greater obligations to exert myself, than any of my predecessors have been; because I have been honoured much more beyond my merits than any of them; and the more unworthy I am of those honours, the more I feel myself bound to engage in my present attempt, and not to shrink from labour, inconvenience, or expense, or even the sacrifice of my life, which I would willingly resign, for each of you in particular, and much more for the whole republic. This I shall probably manifest on the present occasion, on which I shall either return to the satisfaction of yourselves and the city, or lose my life in the attempt. In the mean time, I entreat you, by the fidelity and affection which you owe to the ashes of your Lorenzo, my late father, and the kindness which you have shewn to me, who, in reverence and affection, am not less your son than his, that you will remember me in your prayers. I also have further to request, that you will accept my recommendation of my brothers and children, whom, if it should be the will of God that I should not return, I bequeath wholly to your care. I shall begin my journey from this place to-morrow.

"PIERO DE' MEDICI."

"*In Empoli*, 26 *October*, 1494."

From Empoli, Piero proceeded to Pisa, whence, on the following day, he addressed a letter to his private secretary, Pietro da Bibbiena, in which he directs him to assure the Neapolitan ambassadors at Florence of his unalterable attachment to Alfonso and the house of Aragon, from whom he entreats a favourable construction of the measures which he has unfortunately been compelled to adopt. If his letter to the magistrates contain, as might be expected, only the more plausible and popular motives of his conduct, in this private communication he explicitly acknowledges that he has been abandoned by all the citizens of Florence, as well his friends as his enemies; and that he has neither resources nor credit to support the war, in which he has involved himself and his

country, by his adherence to his engagements with the royal house of Naples.

Under these discouraging impressions, Piero de' Medici presented himself, with a few attendants, at the French camp before Sarzana. On his arrival, two of the confidential officers of Charles, Monsieur de Riennes, his chamberlain, and the general Brissonet, were appointed to treat with him. Their first request was, that the fortress of Sarzana should be surrendered to the French arms, with which Piero instantly complied. They then insisted on Pisa, Leghorn, and Pietrasanta being also delivered up to the king, on his promise to restore them when they were no longer necessary to the success of his enterprise; and to this demand Piero also assented. The readiness with which he thus delivered up places of such strength and importance astonished the French, who seemed to have despised his weakness and ridiculed his credulity.* As he held no ostensible rank, they gave him the title of "Il gran Lombardo;" it being in those times customary to designate all the Italians by the general name of Lombards.†

This unfortunate transaction, in which Piero de' Medici professedly imitated, but with mistaken application, the example of his father in his voyage to Naples, gave irremediable offence to the citizens of Florence; who, although they had refused to assist him in opposing the progress of the French, conceived that he had made a wanton sacrifice of their interests. It may, however, well be doubted whether this was so much the reason as the pretext for the resentment of the Florentines, many of whom had become impatient of the authority of the Medici, and, being prompted by the violent harangues of Savonarola, sought only for an opportunity of exciting the populace to second their views. A new deputation was nominated, consisting of five citizens, among whom was Savonarola, who were directed to proceed to Lucca, where the king had now arrived, and to entreat him to moderate the severity of the terms agreed on. Charles gave them an attentive audience; but neither the persuasions nor the threats of the priest, who represented himself as a messenger

* Mém. de Comm. liv. vii. chap. vii. p. 198.
† Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 11.

on the part of God, could induce the king to relax from his former stipulations. This measure was, however, a sufficient indication to Piero de' Medici of the dissatisfaction which his conduct had occasioned, and of the necessity of securing himself against the effects of that animosity which would probably be excited against him. He therefore engaged his near relation, Paolo Orsini, who then commanded a body of troops in the service of the republic, to accompany him towards the city, intending to suppress the outrages of the populace by force of arms, and, as his adversaries have conjectured, to take upon himself the uncontrolled dominion of the state; to which he is supposed to have been incited by his wife, Alfonsina, and her relations of the Orsini family. On his arrival, he proceeded with a few attendants to the palace of justice, apparently for the purpose of explaining to the citizens the reasons of his conduct; but Luca Corsini, Giacopo de' Nerli, and other magistrates, met him at the gates, and, with many reproaches, opposed his admission. This circumstance occasioned a general clamour and commotion, in which the friends of the Medici, who attempted to suppress the tumult, were insulted and plundered; whilst Piero with difficulty escaped the resentment of the populace.

In the mean time, the cardinal, less obnoxious to the people than his brother, endeavoured to conciliate their favour by pacific remonstrances, and by the cry of *Palle*, *Palle*, in reference to the arms of his family. But the charm which had lasted so many years, was now broken; and these words, which had seldom been heard without producing a favourable effect, only served to excite additional indignation. The clamour and violence of the populace increased; the alarm-bell rang; the prisoners were set at liberty; the farther progress of the cardinal was prevented by impenetrable crowds, whilst Piero and his attendants were threatened with an attack of stones from the windows and roofs of the houses. The fate of the Medici hung on the decision of a moment; and Piero had to determine, whether he would try the event of arms in the bosom of his native place, or abandon the city, and seek a refuge in some other part of Italy. Of these expedients, he adopted the latter; but, by an unaccountable fatality, instead of resorting to the French camp, where he

would probably have obtained the favour and protection of Charles, for having complied with whose requisitions he had been obliged to quit the city, he passed, with his brother Giuliano, through the gate of S. Gallo, and took the road to Bologna.* The cardinal, either not equally alarmed at the danger, or more reluctant to quit his native place, was the last of the brothers who left the city. Finding, however, that the populace were proceeding to the utmost extreme of violence, he divested himself of the insignia of his rank, and, assuming the habit of a Franciscan, passed, without being recognised, through the midst of the exasperated multitude, to the convent of S. Marco, where he hoped to find a temporary shelter, in a building erected and endowed by his ancestors. In this, however, he was disappointed; the monks having, with singular ingratitude, refused to admit him within their gates. Repulsed from the only quarter on which he relied for protection, he immediately abandoned the city, and, hastening into the secret recesses of the Apennines, effected his retreat, and joined his brothers at Bologna.[101]

No sooner had the Medici quitted the city, than the rage of the populace broke out in open acts of violence. The palace of the Medici, and the houses of several of the chief officers of the state, who were supposed to be favourable to their party, were attacked and plundered. The residence of the cardinal, in the district of S. Antonio, experienced a similar fate; but a circumstance which cannot fail to excite the regret of every friend of the arts, is the destruction of the garden of S. Marco, established by the liberality and personal attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent, as an academy for the promotion of sculpture; the repository of the finest remains of antiquity, and the school of Michael Angelo. We might have pardoned the expunging of the figures of the rebels, painted on the walls of the palace, in the year 1434, or the obliteration of the labours of Andrea del Castagno, commemorating the conspiracy of the Pazzi, in 1478; but the destruction of this collection was an irreparable misfortune to the progress of true taste, as yet in its earliest infancy; and was poorly compensated by the figure of Judith, executed by Donatello, at the

* This event occurred on the 9th day of November, 1494. Nardi, lib. i. p. 13.

request of the Florentines, and placed at the gate of the palace, as an emblem of the destruction of a tyrant.[102]

On the same day that the brothers of the Medici were compelled to abandon their native place, a circumstance occurred in the city of Pisa, which, although in its origin of small comparative importance, became in the event a fruitful source of contention and bloodshed; and served, when the terrors of a foreign enemy were removed, to disturb the repose and protract the calamities of Italy. Irreconcilably adverse to the Florentine government, the citizens of Pisa were, at all times, ready to avail themselves of any opportunity to assert their ancient liberties. This restless and unconquerable spirit afforded a reason, or a pretext, for additional cautions and severities on the part of the Florentines; which, without subduing the courage, excited the resentment of the people. No sooner had Charles, after quitting Lucca, arrived at Pisa, than he was surrounded by a tumultuous assemblage of the inhabitants, who, with affecting lamentations, and grievous complaints against their oppressors, entreated the king to free them from their yoke.* The earnest and repeated solicitations of the multitude made a powerful impression on some of the favourite attendants of the king, who observed to him, that the request of the citizens was just and reasonable; whereupon Charles, acting under the impulse of his immediate feelings, and forgetful or regardless of his solemn engagement to restore the city of Pisa to its former governors, signified his assent to their request. This hasty and inconsiderate assurance was received by the citizens of Pisa as a full emancipation from their servitude, and their exultation was displayed by the immediate demolition of the arms and insignia of the Florentines throughout the city. The Florentine commissioners were at the same time expelled from Pisa, not without great apprehensions of violence to their persons, which was prevented only by the authority of the king and his attendants.

Whilst Charles was thus hastening, without interruption, towards the object of his destination, his general, D'Aubigny, had made a considerable progress in Romagna, where he had

* And. de la Vigne, Vergier d'Honneur.

attacked and taken several fortresses, and had compelled Caterina Sforza, widow of Girolamo Riario, who then governed the states of Imola and Forli in the name of her infant son Ottaviano, to relinquish the alliance into which she had entered with the pope and the king of Naples. His approach towards Faenza, with the additional troops which had joined his standard, alarmed the duke of Calabria, who, quitting his entrenchments, proceeded with his army, by the most retired and difficult paths, to Cesena. He was there informed of the commotions which had arisen in Florence, and of the surrender of the chief fortresses of the Tuscan state to the French arms; in consequence of which, he again broke up his camp, and hastily retreated towards Rome. By these pusillanimous measures the power of the French, which, like a small stream, might have been successfully checked in its commencement, was suffered to proceed in an uninterrupted course, and, by a continual accession, to bear down all possibility of resistance.

On the eleventh day of November, Charles left Pisa, and proceeded to Empoli, intending to enter the city of Florence; but on his arrival at Signa, about six miles distant, he received information of the expulsion of the Medici, in consequence of the surrender of the fortified towns of the republic to his arms. Conceiving it, therefore, not improbable that he might meet with resistance, he ordered D'Aubigny, who was no longer opposed in Romagna, to join him with a part of the troops under his command. This measure greatly alarmed the inhabitants of Florence, who began to suspect that Charles intended to possess himself of the city by force. Nor were there wanting among his followers, many who advised him to this measure, and who even endeavoured to prevail upon him to deliver it up to be plundered by the soldiery, on the pretence of its being the first place that had resisted his arms, and as an example to the rest of Italy.* The Florentines were, however, incessant in their embassies and representations to Charles; and perhaps the rich presents and delicate viands, with which they supplied his camp at Signa, might, in some degree, mitigate his resentment. Nor did they neglect the best precautions in their power to secure themselves against

* Guicciardini, lib. i. vol. i. p. 58.

hostilities, in case the king should prove irreconcilable. Great numbers of armed men from different parts of the Tuscan territory entered the city under various pretexts, and were secretly lodged in the houses of the citizens. The *condottieri* in the service of the republic distributed their troops in the most convenient stations, and held themselves in readiness for action, on the tolling of the great bell of the palace of justice. These alarms, however, soon subsided, and on the seventeenth day of November,[103] Charles made his peaceable and public entry into the city on horseback, under a rich canopy, supported by some of his younger nobles, and attended by his barons and men at arms. He was met on his approach by the magistrates and principal inhabitants, who accompanied him to the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where he paid a visit to the great altar; after which he proceeded to the palace of the Medici, which was magnificently prepared for his reception.[104] His nobility and chief officers were lodged in the princely houses of the richer inhabitants; and the illumination of the city, which continued every night during the stay of the king, contributed no less to its peace and security, than to the honour of its royal guest. Conciliated by these attentions, Charles passed several days in partaking of the amusements prepared for him. Among these was the *Rappresentazione* of the Annunciation of the Virgin, which was exhibited, with great splendour and mechanical ingenuity, in the church of S. Felice; and with which the king was so greatly delighted, that he requested to be gratified by a second exhibition.*

No sooner had the three brothers of the Medici quitted the city, than Lorenzo and Giovanni, the sons of Pier-Francesco, returned to Florence, and were restored to their possessions and their rights;[105] but the name of the Medici was now become odious, and with a despicable servility, which has been imitated in subsequent times, they relinquished their family appellation, and adopted that of "Popolani;" at the same time removing from their residence the insignia of their arms, and repacing them by those of the republic.

In the mean time, Piero and his brothers, in their retreat

* Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 15.

to Bologna, had not experienced that friendly reception which they had reason to expect from Giovanni Bentivoglio, who then held the chief authority in that place, and whose obligations to their father were supposed to be a sufficient pledge for his favour. Expecting from others that fortitude which, in the moment of adversity, he did not exhibit himself, Bentivoglio, instead of consoling them in their misfortunes, or encouraging their hopes, reproached them for having pusillanimously quitted a place, where they had such influence and resources, not only without the death of a single adherent, but without even the unsheathing of a sword, or the slightest effort in their own defence. As this remonstrance could now be of no avail, the brothers considered it as a sufficient indication that Bologna would not long be a place of safety. Piero, disguised in the habit of a valet, hastened to Venice, where he met with an honourable reception from the senate, who permitted him to wear his arms in the city, and to be attended by fifteen or twenty of his adherents. The cardinal, shortly afterwards, retreated to Pitigliano, and from thence to Castello, where he found an hospitable shelter with the Vitelli, then the lords of that place, and the ancient friends of his family.[106]

Among the nobility who attended the French king on his expedition, there was no one who enjoyed a greater share of his confidence than Philip de Bresse, uncle to the young duke of Savoy, and who succeeded at no distant period to the sovereignty of that state. On the arrival of the army at Florence, this nobleman had taken up his residence at the house of Lorenzo Tornabuoni, a near relation of Piero de' Medici, who found the means of influencing him in favour of the exiled family; insomuch that De Bresse did not hesitate strennously to advise the king to recal Piero, and restore him to his former authority in Florence. Nor was Charles averse to a measure, which was recommended to him no less by the recent compliance of Piero with his request, at so critical a juncture, than by the remembrance of the connection which had so long subsisted between their families, and the many services rendered by the Medici to himself and his ancestors. Despatches were accordingly sent to Bologna, requesting Piero to return into the vicinity of Florence, and assuring

him of the speedy restoration of his former authority; but these letters did not arrive till he had already taken his departure for Venice, to which place they were forwarded by the cardinal. Instead, however, of complying with the requisition of the king, Piero imprudently laid this communication before the members of the senate, desiring their opinion on the measures which he ought to pursue. The advice which they gave was such as suited their own interest, rather than the circumstances of their guest. Neither the promotion of the views of the French, nor the tranquillity of the state of Florence, were desirable objects to the Venetians. They therefore represented to Piero the hazards which he would incur by his implicit confidence in the assurances of the king, and flattered him with promises that, when occasion offered, they would themselves assist in effecting his return.* Influenced by these representations, Piero lost the only opportunity which ever occurred, of being restored to his native place; whilst the State-Inquisitors of Venice directed that he should be narrowly watched, so that he might not quit the city without their consent.†

But, although the favourable intentions of the king towards Piero de' Medici were thus rendered ineffectual, the rumour of such a design excited a violent alarm in the city, which was increased by the king's avowing his determination to establish a civil authority, and to exercise by his own magistrates, a paramount jurisdiction. On this occasion, the citizens of Florence gave a decisive proof, that they were no less resolute in defending their liberties, than they were solicitous, by every reasonable concession, to conciliate the goodwill of the king. The magistrates expressed their determination to resist, to the utmost extremity, rather than submit to conditions which, they conceived, would for ever deprive them of their rights, and afford a pretext for the monarchs of France to consider them as their vassals. The populace, animated with the same spirit, thronged to the palace; the French soldiers were under arms; the Swiss guards had already attacked the Borgo d'ogni Santi, on pretence that the king was in danger, but had been repulsed by the

* Guicciard. lib. i. vol. i. p. 59.
† Nardi, Hist. Fior. p. 15.

populace, and discomfited by showers of stones thrown from the roofs and windows.[107] The tumult had continued for an hour, and the whole city was on the point of becoming a dreadful scene of massacre and bloodshed; when some of the French chiefs, and a deputation from the magistrates, made their appearance, and, by their united efforts and conciliating assurances, succeeded in restoring the public tranquillity. This vigorous opposition induced the king to relax in his pretensions; but whilst he consented to relinquish all interference in the municipal concerns of the Florentines, he insisted on the payment of a large sum of money, as the price of their exemption. On this occasion, the courage of an individual completed what the spirit of the people had begun. The conditions proposed by the king had been read by his secretary, who declared, that they were the ultimate and only terms to which he would accede; when Piero Capponi, one of the four deputies who had been authorized to negotiate the treaty, stepped forwards, and, seizing the paper from the hands of the secretary, tore it in the presence of the king; at the same time exclaiming—"If these be your terms, you may sound your trumpets, and we shall ring our bells."* This act of open defiance, from a citizen of acknowledged ability and integrity, and who was well known to Charles, having resided as an ambassador in his court, had an immediate effect on the king; who probably considered, that, although he might succeed in subduing the inhabitants and destroying the city, the consequences of such a measure would be the ruin of his expedition. Affecting, therefore, to receive in good part this daring remonstrance, he directed that Capponi, who had quitted the room in apparent anger, should be recalled; and the treaty was concluded without further difficulty.[108] The principal heads of the convention were a participation of mutual privileges between the two countries; that to his title of king of France, Charles should add that of "Restorer and Protector of the Liberties of Florence;" that as a mark of gratitude, the republic should present the king with a free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand florins; that

* Machiavelli has recorded this event in his first Decennale.

the fortresses and places surrendered to the French should be restored, on certain specified conditions; that the citizens of Pisa, on receiving their pardon, should return to their former obedience; that the sequestration of the effects of the Cardinal de' Medici, and his brothers Piero and Giuliano, should be annulled, excepting that the hereditary property of the two younger brothers should remain liable to the debts of the elder. That none of the brothers should approach within a certain distance of the city, which, with regard to Piero, was limited to two hundred miles, and with respect to the cardinal and Giuliano, to one hundred; and, lastly, that Alfonsina Orsini, the wife of Piero, should be allowed to enjoy her dowry, for her separate support. The treaty thus agreed on, was ratified on the following day, being the twenty-sixth of November, in the church of S. Maria del Fiore, where a solemn mass was celebrated, and Charles swore, *on the word of a king*, faithfully to observe the conditions of the contract.*

The stipulations between Charles and the Florentines being concluded, the citizens expected his immediate departure from Florence; where the conduct of himself and his followers continued to excite great apprehensions. He did not, however, appear to be in haste to prosecute his expedition; and Savonarola was again deputed to request an interview with him, and endeavour to prevail upon him to quit the city. The arguments of Savonarola on this occasion were of a very peculiar kind. He reminded the king, that, during the four preceding years, he had himself predicted his arrival in Italy; that God had called him to this undertaking, for the reformation of the church; but that unless he manifested greater zeal and activity in the accomplishment of his labours, he would not be found worthy of carrying them into effect, and God would provide other instruments for that purpose. These remonstrances might, perhaps, have lost their effect, had they not been seconded by the earnest solicitations of the vigilant and faithful D'Aubigny, who complained to the king of his imprudence, in neglecting to avail himself of the advantages afforded him, and in allowing his adversaries so fair an oppor-

* "Sub verbo regis." Nardi, Hist^a Fior. lib. i. p. 16.

tunity of preparing for their defence. Convinced of the expediency of the measure, Charles immediately prepared for his departure, and on the twenty-eighth day of November quitted the city, to the great joy of the inhabitants, having a few days before issued a manifesto, in which he not only asserted his rights to the kingdom of Naples, but avowed his intentions, after the acquisition of that kingdom, of avenging the injuries which the Christian world had sustained from the depredations and cruelties of the Turks.* From Florence the king proceeded to Baroncegli; and afterwards, passing through Certosa and Poggibonzi, arrived at Siena, where he spent several days, indulging himself in splendid banquets and licentious amours. On quitting the Florentine territories, the French army had defiled through the pass of Valdarno, where it became practicable to estimate its numbers with tolerable accuracy; and it was the common opinion that, including cavalry, infantry, and followers of every description, it amounted to sixty thousand persons.[109] From the Tuscan state, the king advanced without opposition into the territories of the church; and possessing himself of Aquapendente, Viterbo, and other places, despoiled and plundered the inhabitants. At this juncture, Piero de' Medici, having eluded the vigilance of his Venetian guards, hastened through Ancona and Romagna, and made his appearance in the French camp, where he was received with kindness by the king, among whose courtiers he had obtained no inconsiderable share of favour and interest.†

The facility with which Charles was thus permitted to proceed through the centre of Italy, on an expedition so hostile and dangerous to its repose, was not unobserved by many of those eminent literary characters with which it abounded. In particular, the inactivity of the state of Venice, which was then at its highest pitch of power and splendour, excited the surprise of all the true friends to the ancient independence of their country. Nor were these sentiments wholly confined to silent lamentation and unavailing regret. About the time that Charles quitted the territory of Florence, an attempt was made by an anonymous indivi-

* Lünig, Codex diplomat. Ital. 2, 1302.
† Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 17.

dual to rouse the Italian states to a proper sense of their own dignity, and the dangers of their situation. But his efforts, at this juncture, were necessarily confined only to remonstrance and exhortation, and these he chose to express in the animated language of poetry. His production yet remains, and throws considerable light on the circumstances of the times.[110] Although the name of the author be lost, it sufficiently appears, from several passages, that he was one of the Italian *condottieri*, who had been engaged in the service of the state of Venice; and that he had been, on some occasions, for a long time prisoner at Milan. That this composition should, of itself, produce any effect on the conduct of the Italian governments, is not to be supposed; but the opinions of an individual, on great public occasions, are seldom peculiar to himself; that which is expressed by one, is frequently thought by thousands; and at such times, the publication of a single person is the manifestation of a general sentiment, and often leads to important consequences. It is certain, that from this time the Italian states began to consider with more attention the consequences of this expedition, and to adopt precautions for securing themselves against its effects. And although the king still continued his progress without interruption, yet a combination was speedily formed for intercepting him on his return to France, which, had it been properly conducted, might have caused him to expiate his temerity with the loss, not only of his reputation, but of his life.

CHAPTER IV.

1494—1495.

Entry of Charles VIII. into Rome—Treaty between Charles and the pope—Alfonso II. abdicates the crown of Naples—Indignation of his subjects—Accession of Ferdinand II.—Charles enters the territories of Naples—Ferdinand is betrayed by Trivulzio—Charles VIII. enters the city of Naples, and assumes the government—Contemporary opinions on that event—Charles reduces the fortresses of Naples—Endeavours to obtain from Ferdinand a surrender of his rights—Conduct of Charles at Naples—The exiled family resort to the aid of Ferdinand of Spain—League between the Italian States and the Spaniards—Dissatisfaction of the Neapolitans with Charles VIII.—Coronation of Charles VIII. at Naples—Charles resolves to return to France—Arrives at Viterbo—Siena—Interview with Savonarola at Pisa—Eager entreaties of the inhabitants to obtain their liberties—Louis, duke of Orleans, claims the duchy of Milan—Massacre of the inhabitants at Pontremoli—Charles passes the Apennines—Is opposed by the allied army under the marquis of Mantua—Prepares for an engagement—Battle of the Taro—Ferdinand II. returns to Naples—Contests between the French and Neapolitans—Expulsion of the French from the kingdom of Naples—Charles VIII. forms a new alliance with Lodovico Sforza, and returns to France—Consequences of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy.

As Charles advanced towards Rome, he found that the terror of his arms had everywhere preceded his approach, and that he had little to dread, either from the force of the allies, or the opposition of the inhabitants. The unexampled serenity of the season seemed also to concur in favouring his views, whilst the dissensions between the pope and the powerful barons of the Roman state had induced the latter openly to espouse his cause. Inferior in number, and dispirited by their retreat, the Neapolitan troops had intrenched themselves under the walls of Rome, when Alexander VI., alarmed at the approach of the king, and unwilling to risk his safety on the event of an attack, despatched the bishops

of Concordia and Terni, and his confessor Gratiano, with proposals to treat, on the part of Alfonso and himself, for a cessation of hostilities. These overtures, as far as regarded the king of Naples, were instantly rejected by Charles, who now saw no difficulty in the accomplishment of his primary object, the expulsion of the family of Aragon; but the favour of the pope was of no small importance, and he therefore sent the duke de la Tremouille, and the president Guenay, to treat with him, as to his own separate interests. The French deputies were accompanied by the cardinal Ascanio Sforza, and Prospero Colonna. The rejection of his first propositions had, however, induced Alexander to take measures for the defence of the city, and, before their arrival, he had admitted the duke of Calabria, with the Neapolitan troops, within the walls. The cardinal and Colonna were committed to prison; and in the commotions to which these measures gave rise, the French deputies were also seized upon, but were speedily liberated by the orders of the pope. The efforts of Alexander for the defence of the city were, however, fruitless. Already the chief nobility had joined the standard of the French monarch. Even Virginio Orsino, grand constable of Naples, whilst he continued in the service of the Aragonese, allowed his son to negotiate with Charles for the reception of the French into the territories of his family, and for providing them with the necessary supplies. Influenced by the united apprehensions of external force and internal faction, Alexander renewed his treaty with the king, for admitting him with his troops into Rome. The deliberation was short; and the terms being concluded, Charles entered the city on horseback, at the head of his army, on the last day of December, 1494. Alexander had offered to obtain from Charles a safe conduct for the duke of Calabria, through the ecclesiastical state; but Ferdinand rejected the proposal as an indignity, and at the very hour that the king entered the city by the gate of S. Maria del Popolo, the duke evacuated it with his troops, by that of S. Sebastiano.*

Notwithstanding the assurances of Charles, that he would

* Guicciard. lib. i. vol. i. p. 61, *et seq.*

treat the pontiff with all the reverence which his ancestors had been accustomed to pay to the holy see, Alexander could not, on this occasion, divest himself of his fears; but, flying to the castle of S. Angelo, accompanied by the cardinals Orsino and Caraffa, sought to secure his personal safety. This imprudent timidity had nearly cost him his tiara; as it afforded an opportunity to his adversaries, and particularly to the cardinals della Rovere and Sforza, of influencing the mind of the king, by representing to him the shameful traffic by which the pope had obtained his high dignity, the scandalous enormities of his private life, and his treachery in refusing to surrender the castle of S. Angelo; for which and similar reasons, they contended, that to depose him would not only be an excusable, but a commendable act, and would entitle the king to the gratitude of the Christian world. Twice was the artillery of the French brought out to attack the castle; but the crafty pontiff at length found means to pacify the resentment of the monarch; and, after long deliberation, a treaty was concluded, which was to be the basis of future union and mutual defence. By this treaty, the pope consented, that Charles should retain possession of Civita Vecchia, and other fortresses in the Roman state, until he had accomplished the conquest of Naples; and promised to dismiss all resentment against the Roman barons who had espoused the cause of the French. In return, the king engaged to restore the pope to his authority in Rome, to perform personal obedience to him, and not to require from him the possession of the castle of S. Angelo. As a pledge for the performance of this treaty, it was further agreed, that Cæsar Borgia, cardinal of Valenza, should accompany the king on his expedition; and that Zizim, the brother of the sultan Bajazet, should be consigned to the care of Charles, who should place him in safe custody at Terracina; but the annual payment of forty thousand ducats, transmitted to the pope by the sultan, as a compensation for keeping his brother at Rome, was expressly reserved to the pontiff.* Alexander now ventured to quit his place of refuge, and an interview took place between him and the king, in the gardens of the pontifical palace. On the

* Lünig, Cod. Ital. Diplomat. ii. 795. Du Mont, Corps diplomat. tom. iii. par. ii. p. 318.

approach of the pontiff, with his cardinals, Charles twice bent his knees, but the pope pretended not to see him; when, however, he was about to repeat once more this act of submission, the pope, taking off his cap, hastened and prevented him, at the same time saluting him with a kiss. The king then being uncovered, the pope would not replace his cap, until the king had restored his hat to its station, for which purpose the pope, with great civility, applied his hand to it, and they both covered themselves at the same moment. At this meeting it was observable that Charles did not kiss either the feet or the hand of the pontiff; and there can be no doubt, that Alexander had so contrived it, that he might not be under the necessity of demanding from the king a species of homage, which, in the relative situation of their affairs, it was probable that he might not be inclined to pay. A subsequent interview was, however, appointed for the public reception of the king, at which Charles performed, with due humiliation, the usual ceremonies, and professed, as a dutiful son of the church, his submission and obedience to the holy see.*

During the negotiations between the two sovereigns, Charles had endeavoured to prevail upon the pope to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; but, although Alexander had, under the first impressions of terror, incautiously assented to this request; yet he afterwards excused himself from complying with it, alleging that it affected the rights of others; and only promised that he would consult the college of cardinals, and do all in his power for the satisfaction of the king.[111]

During the time that Charles remained at Rome, which was about the space of a month, he appears to have considered himself as complete master of the city, and to have punished offenders and executed criminals by his own authority.[112] Brissonet, one of his chief favourites, and bishop of St. Maloes, was, at this time, honoured with the hat of a cardinal;[113] and we may readily credit Commines, when he informs us, that the residence of the king at the palace at

* These and other particulars are related by Burchard in his Diary.

S. Marco was the constant resort of all the dignified ecclesiastics and most eminent officers of the city.*

It might have been presumed, that the long and frequent delays of the king, in the progress of his expedition, would have been injurious to the success of his cause; but his negligence seems to have been no less favourable to him than his exertions; and whilst he was enjoying his honours and his pleasures in Rome, the inhabitants of many of the districts of Naples, and particularly those of Aquila and Abruzzo, had erected his standard, and only waited his approach to join his arms. At the same time, Fabrizio Colonna, one of his Italian stipendiaries, had occupied, in his name, the territories of Albi and Tagliacozza. But an event yet more important occurred at Naples; where Alfonso, being informed of the approach of the French, and the retreat of the Neapolitan army from Rome, and alarmed at the universal symptoms of disaffection amongst his subjects, resolved to relinquish his crown to his son Ferdinand, and to seek his own safety by flight. He accordingly dictated to Pontano, in the presence of his brother Federigo, and some of the chief barons of the state, the instrument of his renunciation;† after which, he secretly withdrew himself from the city, and accompanied only by a few confidential attendants, repaired, under the most evident symptoms of terror, to the harbour, where four galleys were provided for his reception, in which he had privately embarked his most valuable effects. With these he proceeded to the island of Sicily, and arrived at Mazara, a villa which had been given by Ferdinand of Spain to his sister, the queen dowager of Naples, and mother-in-law of Alfonso; where, in the consciousness of being secure from the pursuit of his enemies, he consoled himself for the loss of his reputation, his country, and his crown.

As Alfonso had, on many occasions, given undoubted proofs of his courage, his sudden flight astonished all Italy. By some it was conjectured, that he intended to proceed to Constantinople, to solicit the aid of the sultan Bajazet, who, as well as himself, was the avowed object of the resentment

* Commines, lib. vi. chap. x. xii.

† Giannone, Storia di Napoli, lib. xxix. vol. iii. p. 385.

of the French monarch. With greater probability, others imagined, that he had been induced to this measure by the consciousness of his own misconduct and cruelty, and the hope that his son Ferdinand, who had not yet attained the twenty-fourth year of his age, and had given no such causes of offence, would be enabled to conciliate the affections of the people; but the opinion of Commines was, that he relinquished his crown through mere pusillanimity, for which he assigns, as a reason, that—"no cruel man was ever courageous;"* and in this opinion, he was probably followed by a great majority of those who reasoned on the subject.[114] No sooner, indeed, was the place of his retreat discovered, than the indignation of the Neapolitans was excited to the highest degree; and in particular those distinguished scholars, who had celebrated his triumphs, and immortalized his name in their works, endeavoured to expiate their error, and prove their abhorrence of his misconduct, by the severest reprehensions.[115] Whilst some were expressing their resentment against the fugitive monarch, others were equally earnest in soliciting Charles to hasten his approach. In the Latin verses of Marullus, Italy is represented as mourning his long delay; and Greece, languishing under the scourge of barbarians, expecting with impatience her promised deliverer.†

Ferdinand II. began his reign in a manner the best calculated to secure himself from the dangers with which he was threatened. He set at liberty such of the nobles as his predecessor had imprisoned; he restored to every person the domains of which he had been arbitrarily deprived, and granted new and extensive privileges to the citizens of Naples. But, whatever might have been the effect of these conciliatory measures, if sooner adopted, they were now too late. The partisans of the French, among whom were most of the chief officers of the government, had pledged themselves too far to retreat; and the hourly expectation of the approach of the enemy had a more powerful effect on the public mind, than either the liberality or the remonstrances of the new sovereign.

* Commines, lib. vii. chap. ii. p. 205.

† See the poem of Marullus, addressed to Charles VIII. on this occasion.

Ferdinand, however, collected together a body of about six thousand infantry, and fifty troops of cavalry, the principal command of which he intrusted to Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, an Italian *condottiero* of great eminence, and Nicolo Orsino, count of Pitigliano. With these he proceeded to S. Germano, which, from its situation, between steep mountains on the one side, and impassable marshes on the other, with the river Garigliano in front, was esteemed one of the keys of the kingdom. At the same time, he also occupied, by a detachment, the pass of Cancella, and gave every indication of his resolution to make a vigorous defence.* Nor is it improbable, that if the shameless cowardice, or yet more shameless perfidy, of some of his principal officers had not frustrated his efforts, he might have made an honourable, if not an effectual, resistance.[116]

In the mean time, Charles had quitted Rome, and proceeded on his route towards Naples, having received information of the abdication of Alfonso, at the moment when he took his departure from the city. A short time afterwards, his captive, Zizim, terminated his unfortunate life, in consequence, as some have conjectured, of poison, administered to him by the orders of Alexander VI. before he was delivered up to the king; whilst others have asserted, that his death was occasioned by the inattention of Charles to his personal accommodation.[117] On the arrival of the French at Velletri, it was also discovered, that Cæsar Borgia had eloped from the army, and returned to Rome: and although the pope protested that he was a stranger to this proceeding, and offered to the king any further assurances for his fidelity, it was the general opinion that this event was only preparatory to a change of conduct in the pope, whenever his interest might seem to require it.

The march of the French army towards Naples was marked by cruelty, rapine, and blood. The fortresses of Montefortino and Monte S. Giovanni for a short time retarded their progress; but the attack of their artillery was irresistible, and the soldiers employed in the defence of these places were indiscriminately put to the sword. Apprised of the approach

* Guicciard. lib. i. vol. i. p. 67.

of the French, and apprehensive that his retreat to Naples might be cut off by a detachment under the command of the mareschal De Gies, whom Charles had despatched for that purpose, Ferdinand abandoned his camp at S. Germano, and retired to Capua, so closely pursued by Charles, that he left on the road a part of his artillery; and the intrenchments which he had quitted in the morning, were occupied by the French in the evening. On his arrival at Capua, he received information that an insurrection had taken place in Naples, which required his personal interference. Committing, therefore, the chief command of his army to Trivulzio, he hastened to his capital, intending to return the following day; but no sooner had he left the place, than Trivulzio entered into a treaty with Charles, to surrender the city to him, and join his arms. This act of treachery, which stamps the character of this eminent soldier with indelible disgrace, decided the fate of the kingdom.[118] The Neapolitan troops, throwing off all obedience, and eager to anticipate the plunder of the French, licentiously sacked the place; and the count of Pitigliano, and Virginio Orsino, who had, under a safe conduct from the king, retired to Nola, were made prisoners. On his return from Naples, Ferdinand was met, at the distance of two miles from Capua, by a deputation of the inhabitants, who apprised him of the calamities which they had suffered. The surrender of this place was followed by that of the other principal cities of the kingdom, which seemed ingloriously to vie with each other, which should first make its submission to the conqueror. Betrayed by his commanders, and abandoned by his subjects, Ferdinand retired to his residence at Castel-nuovo; where, having assembled together many of the principal inhabitants of Naples, he explained to them the motives by which he had been actuated in assuming the royal authority, and lamented that his endeavours to remedy the effects of the severity and misconduct of his ancestors had been prevented by the calamities of the house of Aragon. He then released them from the oath of fidelity and homage which they had so lately taken to him as their sovereign, and gave them his permission to negotiate with the French monarch for their safety and privileges, in such manner as might seem expedient to them. These sentiments were

not heard by the populace without compassion; but all hopes of resisting the approaching torrent had now vanished; and Ferdinand, being informed that the insurgents in the city had attacked his palace, and being also apprehensive that attempts would be made to seize his person, and deliver him a prisoner to Charles, privately withdrew from the castle, and accompanied by his uncle Federigo, the queen dowager of Naples, widow of Ferdinand I., and her daughter Joanna, effected his retreat to the harbour, whence he proceeded to the island of Ischia. Adversity is the natural parent of resignation, and as the prospect of his native place vanished from his sight, the fugitive monarch was frequently heard to repeat with the psalmist, "Unless God keep the city, the vigils of the keepers are vain"——*

On his arrival at Ischia, an incident occurred which shewed that, notwithstanding his misfortunes, Ferdinand was not devoid either of courage or promptitude. On his demanding admission for himself and his followers into the castle, his lieutenant, Giusto della Candina, who had already held secret intelligence with the French, refused to receive them within the walls. A parley took place, in which Candina at length consented that the king should enter alone; probably with an intention of securing his person. The gates were accordingly opened to him; but the lieutenant no sooner made his appearance, than the king, drawing a carbine from beneath his cloak, shot him dead upon the spot. The soldiers, alarmed at the fate of their commander, and awed by the courage of the king, submitted to his authority; and his followers immediately possessed themselves of the garrison.

On the twenty-second day of February, 1495, Charles VIII. entered the city of Naples, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the inhabitants.† On this occasion it was observed, that the adherents and favourites of the Aragonese family, who had existed by their liberality, and been exalted by their kindness, were the first to express their attachment to the new sovereign.[119] But similar situations have, in all countries, produced similar instances of ingratitude; and it can occasion no surprise, that the creatures of a court or a

* Guicciard. lib. i. 1. 70.

† Ibid. lib. i. 1. 71. Mém. de Comm. liv. vi. chap. xiii.

faction, who are actuated by no motives but those of their own interest, should, under every change, adhere to the same rule of conduct. Before his departure, Ferdinand had committed the command of the Castel-nuovo to Alfonso Davalos, marquis of Pescara, who, amidst the defection of all the rest of the Neapolitan nobility, continued to defend the place with unshaken fidelity; and Charles, therefore, after visiting the cathedral, was conducted to his apartments in Castel-Capuano, the ancient residence of his ancestors of the house of Anjou. Here he received the homage of his new subjects. The Neapolitan barons expressed to him an uniform obedience. The remoter cities and provinces sent deputations to acknowledge their submission to his authority; and, in the course of thirteen days from the time of his departure from Rome, Charles had the satisfaction of finding himself the acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom of Naples.

The intelligence of this important event was received with very different sensations by the different states of Italy. In Florence, whither the king had sent the new cardinal Brissonet, to solicit the pecuniary aid of the government, it was celebrated with formal processions and ostensible rejoicings. Whatever were the feelings of Alexander VI., he betrayed no external symptoms of dissatisfaction; but contented himself with sarcastically observing, "that the French had overrun Italy with wooden spurs, and conquered it with chalk;" alluding to a custom prevalent among their officers, who, when riding out for their amusement, used only pointed wood instead of spurs; and to the practice of their foragers, who marked with chalk such houses as were fixed upon for the habitations of the soldiery.[120]

But although Charles VIII. had thus succeeded in his enterprise against the kingdom of Naples, much yet remained to be done to secure his acquisitions. The Castel-nuovo, and Castello dell' Uovo, both fortresses of uncommon strength, yet retained their allegiance to their former sovereign. The first attack of the French artillery was upon the Castel-nuovo, which surrendered in a few days. The Castello dell' Uovo made a longer resistance; but the impetuous cannonading of the French at length reduced the garrison to the necessity of a capitulation, by which they were suffered to depart in

safety, on the thirteenth day of March. The valuable effects contained in these fortresses were distributed by the king amongst his followers, without discrimination; it having been sufficient to ask, in order to obtain a share of the spoil.

Nor was Charles yet at rest in his new possessions. Whatever might be his pretensions to the crown, the title by which he immediately held it was his sword; and Ferdinand, by relinquishing his dominions only to a superior force, was justified in attempting their recovery, whenever an occasion should present itself. Aware of these circumstances, Charles became desirous of entering into a negotiation for the purpose of obtaining from Ferdinand a voluntary resignation of his rights. He therefore addressed a letter to Federigo, uncle of the king, then at Ischia, requesting an interview with him at Naples, and offering four hostages for his return. Federigo accordingly proceeded to Naples, where Charles proposed, that, if the king, his nephew, would relinquish his crown, he would grant him a territory in France, with a considerable revenue, and would also honourably provide for Federigo, and the rest of the family of Aragon. In reply to this proposition, Federigo did not hesitate to assure the king, that he was sufficiently acquainted with the sentiments of his nephew, to know that he would assent to no conditions that would deprive him of his crown, or remove him from his subjects. That if these preliminaries could be conceded, he should be ready to enter into further negotiations, but that Ferdinand was determined either to live or die a king. After a second interview, equally fruitless, though conducted with circumstances of apparent respect and civility, Federigo took his departure, and returned to announce the result of his voyage to his nephew, who yet remained at Ischia to wait the issue of it.*

Of the manner in which Charles employed his time during his residence at Naples, an exact diary has been preserved by his faithful attendant, André de la Vigne. But the observation of this humble annalist has seldom penetrated beyond the external ceremonies and common occurrences of the day. We may, however, discover, that the king dis-

* Guicciard. lib. i. vol. i. p. 84.

played a rigid punctuality in paying his devotions every morning in some of the churches of Naples, and that he occasionally diversified his amusements, by an excursion to Poggio Reale,[121] a seat of the Neapolitan sovereigns, situated at a small distance from the city. The king appears also to have been highly delighted with the wonderful display of courage and agility exhibited by a daughter of the duchess of Melfi; who, in the presence of her mother, rode her courser at full speed, and afterwards went through the various exercises of a cavalier; insomuch, that the annalist assures us, it was a miracle to see a young lady perform such "outrageous feats;" nor can he believe that the warlike dames who opposed the Grecians, at the siege of Troy, could have performed one-hundredth part of what was then represented. On the twenty-third day of April a solemn tournament was proclaimed; which was daily renewed until the first of May; and was attended by many distinguished persons, as well from Florence as other parts of Italy, and honoured by the presence of the ladies of Naples. The royal hand was, however, employed with more safety, if not with more efficacy, in touching those affected with the evil, who sought, in the condescension of the king, a remedy for their sufferings. Thus prone have the sovereigns of the world generally been to disregard those calamities which they might have alleviated, and to attempt the relief of those which are beyond their power to cure. On paying his devotions in the church of S. Januarius, the head of the martyr was exhibited to him, and the vessel produced which contained a portion of his blood, which appeared consolidated, like a stone; but on being touched by the king with a silver wand, and placed on the altar before the head of the saint, it began to dissolve, grow warm, and boil, to the astonishment of Charles and his attendants, who were assured that this blood was privy to the secrets of heaven, and never dissolved but at the prayers of the just.*

Whilst the French monarch was thus consuming, in the most abject superstition, or the most puerile amusements, that time which he ought to have devoted to the regulation and

* Vergier d'Honneur.

government of his newly-acquired dominions, Ferdinand had proceeded from the island of Ischia to Sicily, to consult with his father, Alfonso, on the most likely measures for restoring the fortunes of the family. He found him at Messina, in a convent, surrounded by monks, passing his days in abstinence, and his nights in prayer. The result of their deliberations was such as appeared likely to answer the immediate purpose for which they were intended, the expulsion of the French from the kingdom of Naples; but, in dangerous situations, there is nothing so much to be apprehended as the recurring to expedients which are worse than the existing evil; and a serious consideration would have shewn them, that of all the means of assistance, the support and interference of Ferdinand of Spain was the most to be deprecated. The motives by which they were induced to have recourse to his protection, are not indeed difficult to be discovered. Ferdinand was already possessed of the island of Sicily;[122] and the vicinity of so powerful a neighbour as the French monarch, who was avowedly meditating fresh conquests, could not fail to excite in his mind apprehensions for its ultimate safety; whilst the near relationship that subsisted between him and the royal house of Naples, might be supposed to induce him to take a personal interest in their misfortunes. But whilst the abdicated and exiled monarchs were thus flattering themselves with the advantages to be derived from his support, they ought also to have considered, that this ambitious and politic prince was the unquestionable legitimate heir of Alfonso I., king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples; and that he might naturally regard as a derogation of his hereditary rights, the bequest of the crown of Naples by Alfonso, to his illegitimate son, Ferdinand I., the grandfather of its last possessor. It is true he had not only long acquiesced in this separation of the dominions of his house, but had married his sister to his cousin, Ferdinand I. But as the fortunes of the Neapolitan branch declined, the strength and resources of the Spanish house had increased; and it might, therefore, justly have been suspected, that its representative might now assert his claims, which had been suffered to remain so long dormant, not perhaps from his moderation, but from his inability to enforce them. These obvious suggestions were, however,

overlooked, or disregarded, in the panic occasioned by the invasion of the French; and the fatal resolution was adopted of applying to Ferdinand of Spain for his assistance. Bernardo Bernaudo, secretary to the king of Naples, was the ambassador employed on this occasion. He was received with great attention. The Spanish monarch had not observed with indifference the progress of the French arms in Italy, but had already intimated to Charles, that he would consider his attack on the kingdom of Naples as an act of hostility against himself. He had indeed engaged, by a solemn oath, not to interfere in this contest; but on examining the purport of this engagement, it was discovered, that it contained a reservation of the rights of the church, which it was contended would be materially affected by the proceedings of Charles VIII.; and, besides, the restriction against the interference of the Spanish monarch was on condition, that Charles was rightfully entitled to the crown of Naples; a proposition which it was as easy to deny as to assert. A powerful armament was therefore provided, the command of which was given to Gonsalvo Fernandez, a native of Cordova, of the family of Aguilar, a commander of acknowledged talents courage, and experience; who immediately repaired to Sicily to be in readiness to act as circumstances might require; and by his subsequent victories, converted the appellation of "The Great Captain," originally used by his countrymen merely to designate his authority, into a title which has ever since been attached to his name, as expressive of his superior abilities and virtues.

Nor was the progress of the French arms regarded without jealousy and dread by the other states of Italy; and particularly by the person who had been the first and most active promoter of the enterprise, the restless Lodovico Sforza. The extraordinary talents of this misguided politician, like sharp implements in the hands of an awkward artificer, not only defeated his intended purpose, but in the result generally proved injurious to himself. Even before the arrival of Charles at Naples, Lodovico had entered into negotiations with the senate of Venice, for intercepting and cutting him off on his return to France; and on the last day of March 1495, a league was concluded at Venice, among the Italian

states, under the specious pretext of the defence of their dominions, and the protection of Christendom against the Turks, but in fact to oppose the French monarch on his return from Naples.[123] This combination, which was called the holy league, was acceded to, not only by the states of Venice and of Milan, but by Alexander VI., who eagerly availed himself of any opportunity that might protect him against the dreaded power of the French. The emperor elect, Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Spain, were also parties to the convention; and those ideas of a balance of power, by which the Italians had regulated their respective governments, were thus extended to the countries beyond the Alps.* But whilst the ostensible views of this powerful combination were industriously laid before the world, it was secretly proposed, that they should unite their forces in divesting Charles VIII. of the conquest which he had so easily obtained. To this end it was agreed that the Spanish monarch should assist his relations of the house of Aragon, in the recovery of their dominions; that the Venetians should send a powerful naval armament to occupy the ports of the kingdom of Naples; and that Lodovico Sforza should oppose the arrival of further succours to the French through the states of Milan. It was also stipulated, that considerable sums of money should be advanced to Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain, to enable them to carry an effective war into the provinces of France. To the completion of this league, the concurrence of the other states of Italy was highly desirable; but the duke of Ferrara, with true Italian policy, whilst he permitted his son Alfonso to join the allies at the head of a body of horse, as a stipendiary to the duke of Milan, professed his determination to adhere to his former engagements; and the Florentines, well aware that, in case of hostilities, they would be the first to experience the resentment of the French monarch, and not less jealous of the power of the Venetians than of the success of the French, refused to become parties to the convention.†

The exultation which the Neapolitans had expressed on

* This treaty is preserved in Lünig, Codex Italiæ Diplomaticus, tom. i. p. 111.

† Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. ii. vol. i. p. 89.

the arrival of a new sovereign was not of long continuance. Notwithstanding the privileges and exemptions granted by Charles to particular cities, which had been the first to acknowledge his authority, the people soon perceived their error, in exchanging the well-regulated, though severe government of the house of Aragon, for the licentious misrule of the French. The great barons of the realm, instead of receiving those favours which they expected as the reward of their ready submission, were deprived of their offices and their domains, which, with the exception of two or three instances, were conferred by Charles, with indiscriminate liberality, upon his ablest generals, and his most worthless dependants.[124] The French soldiery, dispersed through different parts of the country, were restrained by no considerations of either humanity, honour, or decency; and the Italian writers have complained, that even the sanctuaries of religious chastity were not always a sufficient protection against their brutal violence.* Under these circumstances it can occasion no surprise, that the Neapolitans should have conceived a speedy aversion to their new governors; and Guicciardini might with safety have rested their dissatisfaction on the general principles of human nature, without seeking for it in the levity and instability of the people.[125]

No sooner did Charles receive information of the formidable league, so unexpectedly formed between the princes of Italy and the other European states, than he instantly became sensible of the dangers of his situation, and was no less impatient to quit his newly-acquired dominions, and return to France, than he had lately been to possess himself of the crown of Naples. He now perceived that the treaties, which he had with so much precaution, and by so many sacrifices, concluded with European sovereigns, had served no other purpose than to lead him into a snare, from which he could not expect to extricate himself without great difficulty. The desertion of Lodovico Sforza convinced him that no reliance was to be placed upon his Italian allies, and that his only hopes of safety must rest on the courage of his army, in forcing his way through the hostile states of Italy. Critical,

* Corio, vii. p. 939. Benedetti, Fatto d'arme sul Tarro, p. 9, b.

however, as his situation might be, he was unwilling to quit the city of Naples without the ceremony of a coronation. With this view he despatched an envoy to the pope, to endeavour, by the assurance of his protection and favour, to detach him from his new allies, and induce him to grant the bull of investiture. But Alexander, who had refused to assent to his request, when he occupied Rome at the head of a victorious army, was not likely, after the alliances which he had lately formed, to comply with his wishes.[126] This disappointment did not, however, deter Charles from displaying to the Neapolitans, before his departure, a splendid pageant. On the twelfth day of May, the princes and chief nobility, both of France and Naples, and the great barons from other parts of Italy, assembled at Poggio Imperiale, and accompanied the king in a solemn procession into the city of Naples, where he made his public entry, as king of France, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was clad in an imperial mantle; the crown on his head; in his right hand he held the ball of gold, the proud symbol of universal empire; in his left the sceptre. The canopy was supported by some of the first nobility of Naples. Gilbert de Bourbon, duke de Mompensier, appeared as lieutenant-general, and viceroy of the kingdom. Among those who were habited in royal mantles, as related to the king, were Philip de Bresse, afterwards duke of Savoy, Monsieur de Foix, Monsieur de Luxemburg, and Monsieur de Vendosme. As he entered the city, he was met by great numbers of the nobility and chief inhabitants, with their wives, who presented to him their children, from the age of eight to sixteen, requesting that he would grant them the honour of knighthood, with which he readily complied. Jean Daunay peformed on this occasion the office of champion; he was dressed in complete armour, and was mounted on a horse richly caparisoned. If we may believe De la Vigne, the citizens of Naples confessed they had never before beheld so accomplished a cavalier. Proceeding to the cathedral, the king approached the great altar, where he promised, under the sanction of a solemn oath, to maintain the rights of his new subjects, and was gratified by the temporary assurances of their loyalty and allegiance. On this occasion the celebrated Pontano is said to have addressed the king,

as the orator of the people of Naples; and the tenor of his discourse, which was supposed to inculpate the unfortunate monarchs of the house of Aragon, by whom he had been uniformly favoured and protected, has stained his character with the indelible blot of ingratitude. As this oration has not reached the present times, it is not easy to determine how far the accusation against him is well founded; but the circumstance, if true, is itself unfavourable to the fame of the Neapolitan scholar, and it may readily be inferred, that if he undertook an office so inconsistent with his own honour, he would not display much delicacy in its execution.[127]

But although Charles did not think proper any longer to hazard his own person in the defence of his newly-acquired dominions, he judged it expedient to leave a part of his troops, under the command of his most able generals, in possession of the capital, and of the fortresses of the kingdom, with assurances, that he would not only supply them with the necessary means of defence, but would shortly return into Italy, at the head of a more powerful army. Of all the measures adopted by Charles on this expedition, and which Commines uniformly represents as a series of errors and absurdities, this, upon which he makes no comment, was the most imprudent, and proved in the event the most destructive. Had he concentred his strength in Naples, and endeavoured to obtain the speediest reinforcements, either by the passes of the Alps, or by means of his fleet, it would have given confidence and security to his adherents, and enabled him to defend himself against the meditated attack; or, had he determined to relinquish his conquests as untenable, he might have returned at the head of his troops, if not with honour, at least with safety to his own dominions; but by dividing his forces, he exposed his own person to the danger of an attack from the superior numbers of his enemies, which had nearly proved fatal to him, and left the remainder of his troops to support a hopeless and destructive contest with the arms of the allies, and the partisans of the house of Aragon. On quitting the capital, he intrusted the command of his forces to the duke de Mompensier; who, notwithstanding his indolence, or his levity, had served his master on all occasions with courage and fidelity. D'Aubigny, who had been

recompensed for his labours with the states of Acri and Squillazzo, and the title of grand constable of Naples, was appointed to the chief command in Calabria. The strongholds of the kingdom were intrusted by Charles to his most experienced commanders. Of the Italian nobility, the family of Colonna availed themselves the most effectually of his bounty, and were appointed to the chief offices of the state; and it was supposed to be at their request, that Charles retained as prisoners the count of Pitigliano and Virginio Orsino, the chiefs of the rival family of that name, who had been arrested whilst under the sanction of a safe conduct from the king. These favours did not, however, secure the fidelity of his Roman allies, who had already entered into a secret correspondence with his enemies, and on his departure were the first to oppose his authority; not perhaps, as Commines asserts, without cause, but because they were aware that the king, by the imprudent division of his forces, had deprived that authority of its necessary support.*

On the twentieth day of May, 1495, Charles quitted Naples, and proceeded directly towards Rome. He was accompanied by Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, at the head of one hundred lances, three hundred Swiss infantry, one thousand French, and an equal number of Gascons. Commines estimates his force at nine thousand men; all of whom, as he informs us, were young, and in high spirits, fully persuaded that they should meet with no opponents able to take the field against them. Alexander VI. was too sensible of the offences which he had committed, in joining the alliance, and refusing the bull of investiture, to trust for his safety to the assurances of the king; and being apprised of his approach, quitted the city two days before the arrival of the French, and fled to Orvieto, leaving the cardinal S. Anastasio, as his legate, to receive the French monarch with due honour. The rest of the college of cardinals accompanied the pope; who was also escorted by two hundred men at arms, one thousand light horse, and three thousand infantry.† Charles, after paying his devotions at the great altar of St. Peter's, speedily quitted the city without offering any violence to the

* Commines, liv. viii. chap. i. pp. 217, 218.
† Guicciard. lib. ii. vol. i. p. 94.

inhabitants, and directed his course towards Viterbo; in consequence of which the pope left Orvieto, and passed on to Perugia, whence it was his intention, if the king approached, to retire to Ancona, and take shipping for some other part of Italy.

Charles arrived at Viterbo on the fifth day of June, and remained there until the eighth day of the same month, during which time he availed himself of the opportunity of seeing the body of S. Rosa, which the priests shewed him in real flesh and blood, assuring him she was only in a trance. He here received intelligence that his advanced guard had met with some resistance at Toscanella, a fortified town belonging to the pope, in consequence of which they had taken the place by storm, and plundered it, with the slaughter of about six hundred of the inhabitants; an event which is said to have given him great dissatisfaction; as he was desirous of passing through the territories of the church in as pacific a manner as possible.

On the approach of the king towards Siena, he was met by a deputation of the chief inhabitants, who conducted him into the city; where he was received with great honour, and remained for several days, attracted by the charms of female beauty, and gratified by the sumptuous banquets prepared for him. He had here an interview with his ambassador, Philip de Commines, then just arrived from Venice, whom he questioned with apparent jocularity, but, perhaps, not without real anxiety, as to the preparations made for opposing his return.* The answer of Commines was not calculated to allay his apprehensions. He assured the king that he had been informed by the senate, that the united army of the Venetians and the duke of Milan would amount to forty thousand men; but that they were intended to act only on the defensive, and would not pass the river Oglio, unless the king should attack the states of Milan. Commines availed himself of this opportunity to entreat the king to hasten his departure, before his enemies could have assembled their forces, or received succours from the emperor elect, who was reported to be raising considerable levies; but Charles suf-

* Commines, liv. viii, chap. ii. p. 218.

fered himself to be detained by a negotiation with the deputies of Florence, who met him at Siena, and solicited, with the utmost eagerness, the restoration of Pisa; offering not only to pay the contribution stipulated in the treaty, but to advance him seventy thousand ducats as a loan, and to despatch their *condottiero*, Francesco Secco, with three hundred men at arms, and two thousand infantry, to attend him, until his arrival at Asti. The more prudent part of his followers earnestly advised the king to accede to so advantageous a proposal; but the prince de Ligny, a young man, his cousin and favourite, having observed, that it would be a pity to deliver up the people of Pisa into the power of their tyrants, Charles, acting under the impulse of his feelings, and disregarding at once his interest and his oath, rejected the offer.* In like opposition to the advice of his most judicious counsellors, but at the request of some of the inhabitants of Siena, he appointed the prince de Ligny governor of that place, who deputed his authority to Monsieur de Villeneuve as his lieutenant, with whom the king left an escort of three hundred men; thereby diminishing his forces at this critical juncture, without the possibility of deriving from it the slightest advantage. In fact, the governor and his attendants were expelled the city in less than a month from his departure.

It appears to have been the intention of Charles to have proceeded from Siena to Florence, for which purpose he advanced as far as Campana, a small town at no great distance from that city;† but on his arrival there, he found that, although the Florentines had made preparations to receive him with due honour, they had collected a considerable number of troops, and had filled the city with armed men. These precautions were perhaps not so much to be attributed to their apprehensions from the king, as to their dread of the restoration of the authority of the Medici. They were already apprised that Piero had attached himself to the cause of the French, and that he was then actually in the camp;‡ and they justly feared, that if he were admitted within the

* Commines, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 220.
† André de la Vigne, Vergier d'Honneur.
‡ Guicciard. lib. ii. vol. i. p. 98.

walls, he might avail himself of their assistance to regain his former ascendency. Unwilling to engage in a contest, Charles changed his intentions, and directed his course towards Pisa. In his route, he passed through the town of Poggibonza, where he had an interview with the monk Savonarola, who had been sent by the Florentines, for the express purpose of prevailing upon him to deliver up to them the city of Pisa, and the other fortified places of Tuscany, which had been conditionally intrusted to him. The persuasions of Savonarola were accompanied by threats and denunciations, that if the king violated the oath which he had sworn, with his hand on the Evangelists, and in the sight of God, he would incur the wrath of heaven, and meet with a merited punishment; but these representations, although urged by the fanatic with his usual vehemence, seem to have been little regarded by Charles; who at some times undertook to restore the places, and at others alleged, that prior to his oath, he had promised the citizens of Pisa to maintain their liberty; thus availing himself of the inconsistent engagements made with each of the contending parties to frustrate the requisitions of both.

On the arrival of Charles at Pisa, the same solicitations and entreaties, with which he had been assailed in his route towards Naples, were again renewed with additional importunity, and no measures were omitted which might induce him to take the inhabitants under his protection, and enable them to throw off the hateful yoke of the Florentines. In fact, the spirit of political independence was never more strongly evinced by any people than by the inhabitants of this place; who already began to manifest that inflexible disposition, which supported them through the long and severe trial which they were destined to undergo. The streets of the city were lined with escutcheons and bannerets of the arms of France; the principal citizens, with all their attendants, were ready to receive the king; and the children, dressed in white satin, embroidered with the *fleurs de lys*, saluted him with the exclamations of "Vive le Roi—Vive la France!" As he proceeded towards the bridge, an emblematical exhibition was prepared, on a scaffold decorated with rich tapestry, which represented a figure, mounted on

horseback, completely armed, so as to resemble a king of France. His mantle was strewed with lilies, and in his hand he held a naked sword, the point turned towards Naples. Under the feet of his horse were the figures of a lion and of a large serpent, intended to represent the states of Florence and of Milan. On the following day, the king was formally requested, by a large body of the inhabitants, to take the city under his protection; but his answer was, as usual, equivocal and unsatisfactory. Those assurances, which the citizens could not obtain, were next solicited by their wives and daughters, who, clothing themselves in mourning, proceeded, bare-footed, through the streets, towards the apartments of the king; and, being admitted to his presence, supplicated, with loud cries and exclamations, his compassion on their husbands, fathers, and children, entreating him to protect them against their oppressors.* In his reply, Charles assured them of his affection for the inhabitants of Pisa, and promised so to arrange matters, that they should have reason to be perfectly satisfied. The method which he took for this purpose was to garrison the citadel with French soldiers, the command of whom he intrusted to D'Entraghes, one of the most profligate of his followers; who, without regarding either the honour of his sovereign, or the wishes of the inhabitants, availed himself of the first opportunity of converting his trust to the purposes of his own emolument.

After remaining six or seven days at Pisa, Charles proceeded through Lucca and Pietra Santa, to Sarzana. On his arrival there, he received information that the Genoese had shewn a disposition to free themselves from the dominion of the duke of Milan, whereupon he despatched the duke de Bresse, with one hundred and twenty men-at-arms, and five hundred infantry, to encourage the attempt; which was also to be supported by the French fleet. The Genoese, however, retained their fidelity; the fleet was wholly defeated and captured at Rapallo; and the duke de Bresse with difficulty effected a junction with the king at Asti, when it was too late to render him any service. In the mean time, the duke of Orleans had not only secured the town of Asti, through which

* Vergier d'Honneur.

Charles was necessarily to pass, but having also captured the city of Novara, a part of the territory of Milan, had begun to set up his hereditary pretensions, as a descendant of the Visconti, to the dominion of that duchy.

The advanced guard of the French army was led by the marshal de Gies, who was accompanied by Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio. In approaching the fortified town of Pontremoli, advantageously situated at the foot of the Apennines, and which was garrisoned with three or four hundred soldiers, some resistance was expected; but, on the approach of the French, the place was surrendered without the necessity of an attack. On the troops being admitted within the town, a quarrel, however, arose between some of the inhabitants and a party of German soldiers in the service of the French, in which about forty of the latter lost their lives; a circumstance which so exasperated the rest of their countrymen, that they not only attacked and massacred the inhabitants, but set fire to the place. By this act of barbarity they consumed a considerable quantity of provisions, of which the French army then stood in the greatest need. This outrage, which it was not in the power of the marshal de Gies to prevent, was highly resented by the king; not only on account of the loss of the necessary supplies, at a time when his troops were almost perishing for want, but of the disgrace which it attached to his arms; and it was only in consequence of a most essential service, which the German auxiliaries soon afterwards rendered to him, that they were restored to his favour.

Having quitted Sarzana, Charles now arrived at the foot of the Apennines, near the town of Villa Franca; having consumed nearly six weeks in his march from Naples, at a time when his safety chiefly depended upon his passing the mountains before his enemies had assembled a sufficient force to oppose his progress. The same good fortune which had attended him on his descent to Naples seemed, however, to accompany him on his return, and frequently reminded his annalist, Commines, of an interview which he had at Florence with Savonarola, in whose predictions he appears to have placed great confidence, and who assured him, "That God would conduct the king in safety, without the loss of his honour; but that, as a punishment for his neglecting the re-

formation of the church, and indulging his soldiers in their licentiousness, he must feel a stroke of the scourge."* In ascending the mountains, the army deviated from its former track, and inclined to the right, towards Parma, where they met with steep acclivities, which rendered the conveyance of their artillery, of which they had about forty heavy pieces, a labour of extreme difficulty. On this occasion the German auxiliaries offered their services to the king, to transport the cannon by their own labour, provided he would restore them to his favour. Yoking themselves in couples, like beasts of burthen, one or two hundred to a piece of artillery, and aided by such horses as could be spared, they at length reached the summit of the mountains; but the danger and difficulty of descending were not less than those which they had experienced in the ascent, on account of the frequent precipices which they were obliged to pass; and which induced several of the officers to advise the king to destroy his artillery, in order to expedite his progress; but to this he would by no means consent. It is however certain, that without the aid of the Germans, the difficulties of conveying the artillery over these rugged and trackless wilds would have been wholly insurmountable.

Charles had now passed the summit of those hills which form the northern extremity of the Apennines, and was winding his array through the steep and narrow defiles of the mountains; when, as the plains of Lombardy opened upon his sight, he perceived, at the distance of a few miles, the tents and pavilions of a numerous army, assembled by the allies to oppose his progress. Of this army, the chief command was intrusted to Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, who was assisted by his uncle Ridolfo, a soldier of acknowledged honour and great experience. Under the marquis, several of the most celebrated generals in Italy led the different bodies of which the allied army was composed. The number is variously stated by contemporary authors. If we may credit the Italian writers, the amount scarcely exceeded that of the French; but Commines estimated them at the least at thirty-five thousand men.

* Commines, liv. viii. chap. ii. p. 220.

The allied army had already occupied an eminence on the banks of the river Taro, one of the numerous streams of the Apennines, which discharge themselves into the Po, between Parma and Piacenza.* At the distance of about three miles from the Italian camp, the advanced guard of the French took possession of the small town of Fornova. From this place the marshal de Gies despatched a messenger to the allied army, requesting that the king might be allowed to pass without interruption to his own dominions, and might be supplied with provisions, for which he was willing to pay. On the arrival of the main body of the French army, which encamped on the banks of the river, between that of the allies and the town of Fornova, these demands were repeated; and Commines, who was personally acquainted with the Venetian commissaries, was directed to forward the negotiation. Commines, whilst he undertook the commission, told the king, with great sincerity, that he had little hopes of success, as he had never known two such large armies, so near to each other, quit the field without a trial of their strength. Nor was he mistaken in this conjecture; for the commissaries, after consulting the chief officers, returned for answer, that they could not consent to any pacification, unless the king would first lay down his arms, and consent to restore to the duke of Milan the city of Novara, and to the pope the different places in the papal territories which had been occupied by his arms.

A contest was now unavoidable, and both parties prepared for it with great devotional ceremony, and repeated exhortations to the soldiery. A party of the *stradiotti*, or hussars, in the service of the Venetians, had approached towards the French camp, and falling in with a small detached body, had killed several of them, and dispersed the rest, carrying off the heads of the slain in triumph to the Italian camp. The approach of evening, however, prevented the general engagement till the following day; but a dreadful storm of thunder, attended by a copious fall of rain in the night, seemed to the superstitious multitude to announce some important event, and struck both armies with terror. "On Monday, the sixth

* Cornazzano, in one of his sonnets, enumerates twenty of these tributary rivers, and he might have recorded as many more.

day of July," says Commines, with a simplicity almost ludicrous, "the gallant king Charles, in complete armour, mounted his horse 'Savoy,' which was presented to him by the duke of Savoy; he was the finest horse I ever saw; his colour was black, he had only one eye, was of a middle size, but well proportioned to his rider, who seemed on this occasion to be quite a different being from that for which nature had intended him, both in person and countenance; for he always appeared, and is still, timid in his speech, having been educated among low and effeminate people; but on this occasion, his horse gave dignity to his appearance; his countenance was firm, his complexion ruddy, and his expressions bold and judicious; insomuch that they reminded me of the promise of Savonarola, that God would lead him by the hand, and that his honour would still be preserved to him."*

The advanced guard of the French army was first directed to pass the river with the artillery, which was effected with great difficulty, and by the aid of a considerable number of beasts of burthen. Next came the "battle," or cavalry, in the midst of which was the king, accompanied by the duke de la Tremouille. The rear of the army, with the baggage, was brought up by the count de Foix. As the French army began to pass the river, the Italians were in motion. The marquis of Mantua, following close upon the French, attacked their rear with great impetuosity; whilst the other commanders of the allied army, passing the river in different directions, assailed the French troops on every side. The marshal de Gies, with the advanded guard, maintained the strictest discipline, and proceeded with little annoyance; but the king, being compelled to turn his front, to resist the powerful attack of the marquis of Mantua, found himself suddenly in the midst of the conflict, and was frequently in imminent danger of falling into the hands of his enemies; his relation, the bastard of Bourbon, having been made a prisoner within twenty paces of him. In the confusion that ensued, the commanders lost their authority. Gonzaga, rushing furiously among the enemy, fought his way into the midst of them; and after a considerable slaughter, returned in safety to his followers.

* Commines, liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 227.

The French monarch is also said to have performed the duty of a common soldier.* Whilst the event yet remained doubtful, the count of Pitigliano and Virginio Orsino availed themselves of the opportunity of effecting their escape, and announced to the Italians the disorder of their enemies, endeavouring, by every possible means, to stimulate their countrymen to continue the battle, and to avail themselves of this occasion to destroy for ever the influence of the French in Italy. Their exhortations were, however, of little avail. More intent on plunder than on victory, the Italian soldiery were inspired with no other emulation than that of acquiring the greatest share of the immense booty which the French had brought with them from Naples; of which having possessed themselves, they deserted their commanders, and took to flight in every direction; and Charles, collecting his scattered army, was suffered to proceed on his march. The royal standards, with the pavilion of the king, and a profusion of spoil, fell into the hands of the allies;[128] but the French, having effected their passage, claimed the honour of the victory. The number slain on the part of the Italians was also much greater than on that of the French.[129] Among them was Ridolfo Gonzaga, with many other noblemen and officers of distinguished rank. Unaccustomed to the profuse shedding of blood in battle, the Italians seem to have considered this as a dreadful engagement. An historian of great authority admits that the event was doubtful, and that it diminished the fear which the Italians had entertained of the French;† but Commines represents it as an encounter of no great importance. "It was not, however," says he, "like the battles to which the Italians had been accustomed; which sometimes continued a whole day, without either party gaining the victory."‡

In judging of this engagement, which has been described at considerable length by both the French and Italian historians, and from which such decisive consequences were ex-

* Muratori, Ann. vol. ix. p. 561.

† Thuanus, Hist. sui Temp. lib. i.

‡ Commines, liv. viii. chap. vi. p. 231. Machiavelli, in his "Decennale," i. 57, seems to concede the victory to the French.

pected, it is not easy to determine whether the misconduct of the French, or of the Italians, was the greater. The intention of the French monarch was to pass the river, and, if possible, to avoid a battle; in consequence of which attempt he was not only deprived of the assistance of his advanced guard, in which he had placed almost all his infantry and artillery, but was also exposed, both in flank and in rear, to the attack of the allies. If, instead of adopting a measure which was equally imprudent and pusillanimous, he had opposed his enemies in an open contest, it is easy to perceive, from the consequences of this irregular affray, how fatal the event must have been to the arms of the allies; and he might afterwards not only have pursued his march without interruption, but in all probability have possessed himself of the whole territory of Milan. Nor was the conduct of the allies less liable to reprehension than that of the French. The superiority of their numbers, and the advantages which they possessed, in attacking an enemy actually on their march, and impeded by the low and marshy banks of the river, ought to have secured to them an easy and decisive victory. But their army was divided into many detachments, under generals who paid little respect to the authority of the chief commander. Of these, some were unable, from the situation of the place, and others unwilling, to take an active part in the engagement. A great number fled at the first report of the French artillery; and of the remainder, the chief part were employed in sacking the French camp, and securing for their private use as great a share of the plunder as they could obtain. The question is not, therefore, which of the contending parties obtained the greatest honour in this engagement; but which of them incurred the least disgrace.

The dread which the Italians had entertained of the French may in some degree be estimated by the exultation which the event of the battle of the Taro occasioned in Italy. The praises of the marquis of Mantua resounded in every quarter, and the works of contemporary writers yet bear ample testimony to his fame. Ever hostile to the French, Crinitus immediately addressed to him a Latin ode. Battista Mantuano has celebrated his prowess in a poetical allusion to

his baptismal name; and Lelio Capilupi has left a Virgilian Cento, intended as an inscription for his statue. Without prostituting his talents to national partiality, or personal flattery, Fracastorius has also adverted to this engagement in a few beautiful lines near the close of the first book of his "Syphilis," which deserve to be recalled to more particular notice.[130]

No sooner had Ferdinand, the young king of Naples, received information that Charles had quitted the city, than he made a descent on the coast of Calabria, at the head of about six thousand troops, hastily raised in Sicily, and supported by a detachment of Spaniards under the command of Gonsalvo da Cordova; but the gallant d'Aubigny, to whom the defence of that part of the kingdom had been intrusted, was prepared for their reception; and in an engagement near Seminara, defeated them with considerable loss. Gonsalvo fled across the mountains, and Ferdinand returned to Messina, after owing his life to the generosity of his page, Giovanni di Capua, brother to the duke of Termini, who relinquished his horse to the king when his own was slain under him, and thereby met with that death which would otherwise have been the fate of his master. At Messina he fitted out a fleet, consisting of numerous, but small and weakly-manned vessels, and proceeded towards Naples, where he was in hopes that the inhabitants would have shewn some demonstrations of their attachment to his cause. Disappointed in his expectations, after hovering three days on the coast, he was proceeding to the island of Ischia, when a bark arrived from Naples, with information, that his return was most ardently wished for by the inhabitants, who were only prevented by the presence of the French soldiery from manifesting their loyalty, and that if he would make a second descent on the coast, they would be ready to espouse his cause. On the day following that of the battle of the Taro, Ferdinand landed at Madalena, near the mouth of the river Sebeto, within a mile of Naples; and whilst the duke de Mompensier led out the French troops to oppose his progress, the inhabitants, tumultuously taking up arms, closed the gates of the city against their conquerors, and opened them only to receive their former sovereign, who entered, amidst the most joyful acclamations,

into a place which he had quitted, only a few months before, as an outcast and a fugitive.

The French, however, still retained possession of the two fortresses of Naples, the Castel-nuovo and Castello dell' Uovo, where the duke de Mompensier for some time resisted the attacks of Ferdinand, till, being at length reduced to extremities, he effected his escape in safety to Salerno. At this place he again raised the French standard, and reinforced his small army by the accession of several powerful partisans; till, conceiving himself sufficiently strengthened to hazard another attack, he approached towards Naples, defeated a considerable body of the Aragonese, and occasioned such consternation in the city, that the king was once more on the point of seeking his safety by flight. A timely reinforcement from the pope, and the powerful assistance of Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna, at length enabled Ferdinand to repel his enemies; and the provincial cities of Capua and Nola, with many other important places, returned to their allegiance, and acknowledged him as their sovereign. The duke de Mompensier withdrew into the city of Atella, now called Aversa, where he strongly fortified himself; whilst d'Aubigny still kept possession of Calabria, in the hope of supporting himself till the promised succours should arrive from France.

Amongst the other powers to whom Ferdinand had resorted for assistance in his necessities, he had not neglected the senate of Venice; who, having now avowed an open hostility to the French, sent to his succour a well-armed fleet, and a considerable body of troops, under the command of the marquis of Mantua, who had so well established his military reputation at the battle of the Taro. This assistance was not, however, obtained without important sacrifices on the part of the king; and the Venetians were to be put in possession of Brindisi, Trani, Gallipoli, Otranto, and other places on the coast of the Adriatic, as pledges for the performance of the conditions on which it was furnished. On commencing the attack of Atella, Ferdinand was also joined by a body of Swiss troops, who had just arrived in Italy to co-operate with the French, but who now turned their arms against their employers, when they were no longer able to advance them the stipulated pay. In this emergency, the

duke de Mompensier had recourse to d'Aubigny, whom he earnestly entreated to send him immediate succours; and although that general, then in an infirm state of health, had to contend with the Spanish troops under the command of Gonsalvo, who had again taken the field, yet he sent a detachment to his assistance under the command of the count de Moreto and Alberto Sanseverino. Gonsalvo, however, surprised and defeated the French troops on their march, and made both the commanders prisoners. He then hastened to Atella, and, uniting his arms with those of the king, blockaded the place so effectually, that the duke was reduced to the necessity of proposing a capitulation. A truce of thirty days was agreed on; and it was further stipulated, that if within that time a considerable armament should not arrive, the duke should not only surrender the fortress of Atella, but all the other places dependent on the French in the kingdom of Naples. Having secured his own retreat, Charles paid little regard to the safety of the faithful soldiers whom he had left in Italy.* The expected succours did not appear, and the treaty was accordingly concluded. But Ferdinand, who had engaged to send the duke and his troops by sea to Provence, led them prisoners, to the amount of about six thousand men, to Naples, whence they were conveyed to the island of Procida, and other unhealthy places, where upwards of two-thirds of them perished by sickness, famine, and pestilence. The duke de Mompensier shared the same fate, having died at Pozzuolo, leaving behind him the character of a good soldier and a faithful subject. D'Aubigny had made some progress in Calabria; but hearing of the capitulation of Atella, and being again closely pressed by Gonsalvo, he finally withdrew his troops from the Neapolitan territory, and had the good fortune to return with them in safety to France.

The capture of Novara by the duke of Orleans, which had been considered as an event highly favourable to the French, proved in the result one of the most humiliating and destructive incidents which had occurred during the war. Soon after

* Commines, liv. viii. chap. xiii.

the battle of the Taro, Novara was invested by the allies, who possessed themselves of the approaches, and so effectually cut off all supplies, that the duke of Orleans, with a numerous garrison, was reduced to the utmost extremity of famine. In this emergency, Charles had no resource but to enter into a treaty with Lodovico Sforza, for a temporary cessation of hostilities, which he with great difficulty obtained; and the duke of Orleans and the marquis of Saluzzo, with a small party of their friends, were suffered to visit the king at Vercelli, under a promise of returning to Novara, in case a final treaty was not concluded on. This circumstance led to a more general discussion between the adverse parties, in the course of which Lodovico again changed his politics, and, without the assent of his allies, entered into a league of perpetual peace and amity with the king, in which, among other articles, Lodovico agreed to allow him to fit out a fleet at the port of Genoa, and promised to grant him a free passage on his return to Naples, and assist him with money and troops. The bastard of Bourbon, with the rest of the French made prisoners at the battle of the Taro, were set at liberty, and power was reserved for the Venetians to enter into the treaty within the space of two months, in which case they were to recal their fleet from Naples, and undertake not to afford any assistance to the house of Aragon. The city of Novara was restored to Lodovico; in consequence of which the French garrison, after having lost upwards of two thousand of their number by famine and disease, were led from thence to Vercelli, so exhausted through want of sustenance, that many of them perished on the road, and upwards of three hundred died after their arrival.* No sooner was the treaty concluded, than Commines was again despatched to Venice, to induce the senate to accede to the terms proposed; and Charles, taking the route of Turin, returned in the month of October, 1495, to France, with the remains of his army; plundered, diseased, and reduced to less than one-fourth of its original number.

* The number which quitted Novara was about 5,500, of whom not more than 600 were able to perform duty.—Commines.

Thus terminated the celebrated expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples; an expedition originating in puerile ambition, conducted with folly and rapacity, and ending in the dissipation of the revenues of his crown, and in the destruction of his army. That he accomplished his object, is the boast of the French historians; but it is easy to perceive that the successes of Charles VIII. are not to be attributed so much to his courage, or to his abilities, as to the weak and irresolute conduct of his adversaries, the selfish and temporizing policy of the Italian states, and above all, to the odium excited against the house of Aragon, by the cruelties exercised by Ferdinand I. and his son Alfonso on their subjects. If these advantages could have been countervailed by any misconduct of his own, the defeat of Charles had been certain. Such were his necessities in the commencement of his undertaking, and such the difficulties with which he provided for his soldiery, that he was not only obliged to borrow money at a most exorbitant interest, but even to plunder his friends and allies. The time chosen for his enterprise could not, indeed, have been more favourable to his views; for many causes had concurred to disgust the people of Italy with their rulers, and had led them to regard the French as their friends and deliverers, and as a nation on whose honour and good faith they could place the most perfect reliance: but this error was not of long duration; and the cruelty and disorder which distinguished the march of the French army soon convinced their partisans and admirers that the expected change was not likely to promote their happiness. The irruption of the French seemed to be the extinction of all literature in Italy. The example of a weak and licentious monarch corrupted his followers. An incredible degree of debauchery and prostitution prevailed. The restraints of modesty, the ties of morality, the voice of religion, were all equally disregarded; and the hand of Providence almost visibly interfered, to punish, by the scourge of a loathsome and destructive malady, those enormities which no other motives could restrain. Shocked at this hideous disease, the Italians and the French recriminated on each other the disgrace of its introduction; and the appella-

tions of *mal de Naples*, and *mal Francese*, were intended by each of those nations to remove to the other the infamy of its origin. In other respects, this event seems only to have served to break down those barriers which nature had formed to secure the repose of mankind, and to have opened a wider field for the range of ambition, and the destruction of the human race.

CHAPTER V.

1496—1499.

Marriage of Ferdinand II. of Naples—His death—Contest respecting the dominion of Pisa—Descent of the emperor elect, Maximilian, into Italy—The Medici attempt to regain their authority in Florence—Death of Beatrice of Este—Alexander VI. attacks the Roman barons—Recovers the city of Ostia—Death of the duke of Gandia, son of Alexander VI.—Particular account of that event—Cæsar Borgia accused of the murder of his brother without sufficient evidence—Second attempt of the Medici to enter the city of Florence—Fatal consequences to their partisans within the city—Paolo Vitelli appointed general of the Florentines against Pisa—The Florentines form an alliance with Lodovico Sforza—Death of Charles VIII. and accession of Louis XII.—Death of Savonarola—Vitelli captures the fortress of Vico Pisano—Third attempt of the Medici to regain their native place—The contest respecting Pisa submitted to the decision of Ercole, duke of Ferrara—His interference proves ineffectual—The inhabitants of Pisa resolve to defend themselves—Vitelli effects a breach in the walls—Neglects to avail himself of his advantages—Is brought to Florence and decapitated.

The death of Alfonso II., the fugitive king of Naples, which happened at Messina, on the nineteenth day of November, 1495, had confirmed to Ferdinand the possession of the crown; and being now freed from the apprehensions of the French, he thought it expedient to enter into the matrimonial state. For his bride he selected his aunt Joanna, the half-sister of his father, then only fourteen years of age, but highly distinguished by her beauty and accomplishments. This marriage gave great scandal to the Christian world;* but the dispensation of the pope speedily removed all difficulties. Guicciardini, who supposed that mankind are always actuated by motives of political interest, accounts for this union by presuming that Ferdinand wished to strengthen his connection

* Commines, liv. viii. chap. xiv. p. 251.

with the king of Spain; but had the ties of consanguinity been a sufficient title to his favour, Ferdinand already stood nearly related to him; and it is therefore more probable, that the motive of his choice was the gratification of an amorous passion, which he had conceived for his aunt during their voyage to Sicily. This is rendered yet more probable by the accounts given of the cause of his death; which event took place on the fifth day of September, 1496, and was said to have been occasioned, or accelerated, by the excessive indulgence of his passion for his new bride.* As he left no offspring, he was succeeded in his dominions by his uncle Federigo, a prince of excellent dispositions, and considerable talents; but the ambition of his contemporaries, and the unfavourable circumstances of the times, prevented his people from enjoying that happiness which they might otherwise have experienced under his government.

Before Charles VIII. had quitted Turin, on his return to France, another interview had taken place between him and the Florentine deputies; who still pursued him with their solicitations and remonstrances; and by the advance of a large sum of money, of which he stood greatly in need, and many unreasonable concessions, obtained from him a definitive assurance that Pisa should again be restored to them.† Directions were accordingly sent to d'Entraghes to surrender to them the citadel; but these directions were either accompanied by others of a contrary tendency, or d'Entraghes preferred his own interest to the honour and the favour of his master; for, instead of complying with the orders of the king, he sold the fortress to the inhabitants of Pisa, for the sum of twelve thousand ducats; and, having received the money, relinquished it into their hands.

The Florentines, thus deluded in their expectations, had immediate recourse to arms. The citizens of Pisa, on the other hand, not only prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity, but endeavoured, by the most earnest solicitations, to obtain assistance from several of the other states of Italy, and even of Europe; to whom they did not hesitate to offer the dominion of their city, provided they were freed from the

* Summonte, Hist. di Napoli, iii. lib. vi. p. 583.
† Guicciard. Storia d'Italia, lib. i. 120.

yoke of the Florentines. The Venetians, eager to extend the limits of their territories, were among the first to listen to their entreaties. Lodovico Sforza also engaged in their defence. The Florentine army, under the command of Paolo Vitelli, attempted to storm the city; but, after having driven in, with great precipitation and slaughter, the troops employed in its defence, and possessed themselves of the suburbs, they were, in their turn, obliged to retreat by the artillery of the citadel; their commander being wounded, and many of the soldiery killed. Encouraged by their success, the citizens of Pisa took the field, and opposed themselves to the Florentines, over whom they obtained some advantages, although no decisive engagement took place.

In this situation of affairs a new competitor made his appearance, with the intention of terminating at once the pretensions of inferior powers, and of taking the city of Pisa under his own protection. This was no less a personage than the emperor elect, Maximilian; who, induced by the offers of the citizens of Pisa, and the persuasions of Lodovico Sforza, passed, in the month of October, 1496, with a party of horse and eight regiments of infantry, through the Valteline into the territories of Milan. After having been splendidly entertained during some days by Lodovico, he hastened to Genoa, where he embarked with his troops for Pisa; but on his arrival there, he found that the Venetians had already occupied the garrison as auxiliaries to the inhabitants, and, conceiving themselves equal to the defence of the place, did not choose that he should share with them either in the honour or the spoil. He then sailed to Leghorn, which place he cannonaded for several days, and where he had nearly lost his life by a ball, which carried away a part of the imperial robe. This place was defended by the celebrated Tebalducci, the first of the Florentine *condottieri* who succeeded in introducing a proper state of subordination and discipline amongst the Italian soldiery.* During this contest the Venetian commissaries admonished Maximilian to desist, as they had themselves pretensions to the possession of the place. He then determined to attack the Tuscan territories,

* Nardi, Vita d'Antonio Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini. Fior. 1597. 4to. *passim*.

for the purpose of devastation and plunder; but at this moment a violent tempest dispersed his fleet. Finding all his purposes defeated, and apprehensive for his own safety, Maximilian abandoned his enterprise, and took the speediest route to his own dominions; where he arrived, full of animosity against the Venetians, and with no small discredit to his character as a military commander.[131]

Whilst the Florentines were thus contending with powerful enemies abroad, and were distracted by discordant opinions, and the inflammatory harangues of Savonarola at home, the brothers of the Medici conceived that a favourable opportunity was afforded them for attempting to regain their authority in their native place. For this purpose they formed the project of an attack upon the city, in conjunction with their kinsman Virginio Orsino, who, after having escaped from the custody of the French king at the battle of the Taro, had again begun to collect his adherents, in hopes of retrieving the fortunes of his house by the sale of their services. The Medici were then at Rome; but Virginio having flattered them with the fairest hopes of success, if the necessary resources could be found for the payment of his troops, they exerted themselves in procuring for him large sums of money, with which he continued to increase the number of his followers. The three brothers also employed themselves with great industry, in collecting together their adherents from all parts of Italy. Piero having obtained pecuniary assistance from the Venetians, and being favoured in his enterprise by the pope, raised a considerable number of troops within the papal states, with which he advanced through the territory of Siena to the lake of Perugia, expecting to be joined by such levies as his brother Giuliano had been able to assemble in Romagna. A formidable body being thus collected, Virginio and Piero de' Medici passed in the midst of winter into Umbria; and by a toilsome march through the snow, at length reached the baths of Rapollano. The Florentines had, however, been apprized of the attempt, and had withdrawn a part of their troops from Pisa for their own defence. They had also fortified and strengthened the cities of Arrezo and Cortona, and continued to watch with unremitting vigilance the adherents of the Medici within the walls of Florence.

The vigour and promptitude of these precautions depressed the hopes of the assailants, who had relied more on the exertions of their friends within the city than on their own force, and supposed that the appearance of a powerful military body in the vicinity would encourage them to declare themselves. No disturbance was, however, excited; and Virginio, instead of proceeding to the attack, contented himself with plundering the defenceless villages for the subsistence of his troops. Whilst such was the hopeless state of the expedition, he received highly advantageous offers to induce him to relinquish his undertaking, and join the standard of the French, then on the point of being expelled from the kingdom of Naples. Virginio did not long hesitate between his honour and his interest. Even his animosity to the king of France, who had unjustly detained him as a prisoner, gave way to the hopes of gain; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Piero and his friends, he led his troops towards Naples; not, however, without the most solemn promises that, as soon as the contest respecting that kingdom should be terminated, he would return to Tuscany, with a more powerful armament: promises which, if sincere, he never had an opportunity of fulfilling, for, being captured with the duke de Mompensier at Attela, he experienced the same fate as that officer, having died whilst a prisoner at Naples.* The cardinal de' Medici and his brother Giuliano, who had in vain endeavoured to prevail upon Giovanni Bentivoglio, of Bologna, to assist them in their attempt, were now obliged to retire from that place, and to seek for shelter within the territories of Milan.†

Early in the year 1497, the prosperous fortunes of Lodovico Sforza were interrupted by a domestic disaster, which was the harbinger of his approaching calamities. His wife Beatrice, the partner of his ambition, his grandeur, and his crimes, and of whose counsels he had on every occasion availed himself, died in child-bed, after having been delivered of a son, who died before his birth.[132] Though insensible, or regardless of the distress which he had occasioned throughout Italy, Lodovico sunk under his misfortune in weak and

* Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. ii. p. 28.
† Jovii, Vita Leon. X. lib. i. pp. 17, 19.

unmanly sorrow; and sought to alleviate his grief, and at the same time perhaps to gratify his ostentation, by the most expensive and splendid obsequies, which were repeated, with additional magnificence, on the expiration of a year from the death of his wife. During this interval he never seated himself at his table; but was served in a chamber hung with black, from the hands of his attendants. Such a violent and persevering sorrow caused him to be considered throughout all Italy as a paragon of conjugal fidelity; and the poets of the time sought to assuage his grief by celebrating his affection, and embalming the memory of his wife in their verse.

Alexander VI. being now firmly seated in the pontifical chair, and freed from his apprehensions of the French, began to adopt those vigorous measures for the subjugation of the Roman nobility, and the aggrandizement of his own family, which he pursued with unremitting industry during the remainder of his life. His eldest son Giovanni had been honoured by Ferdinand of Spain with the title of duke of Gandia; Cæsar, his second son, had been raised to the dignity of the purple; and his daughter Lucrezia, who, before the elevation of her father, had been married to a Spanish gentleman, was soon after that event divorced from her husband, and became the wife of Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. The first hostile attempt of the pontiff was directed against the territories of the Orsini; who had equally disregarded his admonitions and his threats, and had united their arms with those of the French. The command of the papal troops destined to this expedition was intrusted to the duke of Gandia; who was accompanied by Guidubaldoda Montefeltri, duke of Urbino, a commander of acknowledged courage and experience. After possessing themselves of some places of inferior importance, they commenced the siege of Bracciano. This event first called into action the military talents of Bartolommeo d'Alviano, then very young, but who afterwards established his reputation as one of the most accomplished commanders of Italy. In conjunction with Carlo, the illegitimate son of Virginio Orsino, and Vitellozzo Vitelli, he vigorously attacked the papal troops. The engagement continued for several hours; in the

result the Roman generals were completely routed; the duke of Urbino was taken prisoner, with several other noblemen and officers of high rank; but the duke of Gandia effected his escape, after having been slightly wounded in the thigh. Thus disappointed in his attempt to wrest from the family of Orsini their patrimonial possessions, Alexander had recourse, for the aggrandizement of his offspring, to another expedient. With the consent of the college of cardinals, he separated from the states of the church the city of Benevento; and erecting it into an independent duchy, conferred it, with other domains, on his eldest son.

Although Charles VIII., after his return from his Neapolitan expedition, had relinquished to the pope the fortresses of Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and other places within the papal state which he had occupied by his arms, he still retained the city of Ostia, the command of which he had intrusted to the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, bishop of that place.* The expulsion of the French from Naples by the aid of the Spanish troops under the command of Gonsalvo had not only encouraged the pope to attempt the recovering of this important station, but afforded him an opportunity of carrying his intentions into effect by the aid of Gonsalvo, who being then unemployed, gladly accepted the lucrative offers of the pontiff to assist in the attack. Uniting his arms with those of the pope, Gonsalvo proceeded to bombard the fortress; but the cannonading had scarcely commenced, when Menaldo, who held the place for the cardinal, and who by his piratical depredations had greatly annoyed the navigation of the Tiber, surrendered at discretion; and was led by Gonsalvo in triumph to Rome. On his approach to the city, Gonsalvo was met by the sons of the pontiff, the cardinals and prelates of the church, and by an immense concourse of the people, who were anxious to see a man whose exploits had already extended his fame throughout all Italy. He was immediately introduced to the pope, who received him with the holy kiss, and bestowed upon him, in full consistory, the golden rose which is annually consecrated by the pontiff, and presented only to sovereigns and great princes, who have

* Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. ii. vol. i. p. 94.

merited the favour of the holy see.* On this occasion Gonsalvo gave a proof of his magnanimity, in prevailing on the pontiff to spare the life of Menaldo; who, being set at liberty, was permitted to retire to France.†

The exultation of the pontiff on this occasion was not, however, of long continuance, having being speedily succeeded by a most tragical event, that not only blasted in a great degree the hopes of his family, but branded it with a stigma, which has rendered it peculiarly odious to future times. This was the death of the duke of Candia, who, after having passed the evening at a splendid entertainment given by his mother, was on his return home assassinated, and his body thrown into the Tiber, where it remained undiscovered for several days. The perpetration of this crime has been imputed by the Italian historians, without hesitation, to Cæsar Borgia; who, being disgusted with his ecclesiastical profession, and earnestly desirous of signalizing himself in a military capacity, is supposed to have considered his brother as having pre-occupied the station which he was desirous of obtaining, and to have been jealous of the superior ascendency which the duke had acquired in the favour of the pontiff. In examining these motives, it might indeed be observed, that the destination of the elder brother to a secular employment did not necessarily confine the younger to an ecclesiastical state; and that the honours bestowed on the duke of Candia did not seem to prevent the pontiff from promoting the interests of his second son, whom he had placed in such a station, as to afford him an opportunity of obtaining the highest dignity in Christendom. Some authors have, therefore, not scrupled to suggest a more powerful cause of his supposed enmity, by asserting that he was jealous of the preference which the duke had obtained in the affections of their sister Lucrezia, with whom, it is said, that not only the two brothers, but even Alexander, her father, had criminal intercourse. Frequently, however, as this charge has been repeated, and indiscriminately as it has been believed, it might not be difficult to shew, that, so far from this being with justice admitted as a proof that Cæsar was the perpe-

* Jovii Vita magni Gonsalvi, lib. i. p. 222.
† Moreri, art. Cæs. Borgia.

trator of the murder of his brother, the imputation is in itself in the highest degree improbable; and this transaction must therefore be judged of by such positive evidence as yet remains, without presuming the guilt of Borgia from circumstances which are yet more questionable than the crime of which he stands primarily accused.[133]

The most interesting and particular account of this mysterious event is given by Burchard, and is in substance as follows:—"On the eighth day of June, the cardinal of Valenza (Cæsar Borgia), and the duke of Gandia, sons of the pope, supped with their mother Vanozza, near the church of S. Pietro ad vincula; several other persons being present at the entertainment. A late hour approaching, and the cardinal having reminded his brother that it was time to return to the apostolic palace, they mounted their horses or mules, with only a few attendants, and proceeded together as far as the palace of cardinal Ascanio Sforza, when the duke informed the cardinal, that, before he returned home, he had to pay a visit of pleasure. Dismissing therefore all his attendants, excepting his *staffiero*, or footman, and a person in a mask, who had paid him a visit whilst at supper, and who, during the space of a month, or thereabouts, previous to this time, had called upon him almost daily at the apostolic palace, he took this person behind him on his mule, and proceeded to the street of the Jews, where he quitted his servant, directing him to remain there until a certain hour; when, if he did not return, he might repair to the palace. The duke then seated the person in the mask behind him, and rode, I know not whither; but in that night he was assassinated and thrown into the river. The servant, after having been dismissed, was also assaulted and mortally wounded; and although he was attended with great care, yet such was his situation, that he could give no intelligible account of what had befallen his master. In the morning, the duke not having returned to the palace, his servants began to be alarmed; and one of them informed the pontiff of the evening excursion of his sons, and that the duke had not yet made his appearance. This gave the pope no small anxiety; but he conjectured that the duke had been attracted by some courtesan to pass the night with her, and, not choosing to quit the house in open day,

had waited till the following evening to return home. When, however, the evening arrived, and he found himself disappointed in his expectations, he became deeply afflicted, and began to make inquiries from different persons, whom he ordered to attend him for that purpose. Amongst these was a man named Giorgio Schiavoni, who, having discharged some timber from a bark in the river, had remained on board the vessel to watch it, and being interrogated whether he had seen any one thrown into the river, on the night preceding, he replied, that he saw two men on foot, who came down the street, and looked diligently about to observe whether any person was passing. That seeing no one, they returned, and a short time afterwards two others came and looked around in the same manner as the former; no person still appearing, they gave a sign to their companions, when a man came, mounted on a white horse, having behind him a dead body, the head and arms of which hung on one side, and the feet on the other side of the horse; the two persons on foot supporting the body, to prevent its falling. They thus proceeded towards that part where the filth of the city is usually discharged into the river; and turning the horse with his tail towards the water, the two persons took the dead body by the arms and feet, and with all their strength flung it into the river. The person on horseback then asked if they had thrown it in, to which they replied, *Signor, si* (yes, sir). He then looked towards the river, and seeing a mantle floating on the stream, he inquired what it was that appeared black, to which they answered it was a mantle; and one of them threw stones upon it, in consequence of which it sunk. The attendants of the pontiff then inquired from Giorgio, why he had not revealed this to the governor of the city; to which he replied, that he had seen in his time a hundred dead bodies thrown into the river at the same place, without any inquiry being made respecting them, and that he had not therefore considered it as a matter of any importance. The fishermen and seamen were then collected, and ordered to search the river, where, on the following evening, they found the body of the duke, with his habit entire, and thirty ducats in his purse. He was pierced with nine wounds, one of which was in his throat, the others in his head, body, and limbs. No

sooner was the pontiff informed of the death of his son, and that he had been thrown like filth into the river, than giving way to his grief, he shut himself up in a chamber and wept bitterly. The cardinal of Segovia, and other attendants on the pope, went to the door, and after many hours spent in persuasions and exhortations, prevailed upon him to admit them. From the evening of Wednesday till the following Saturday the pope took no food; nor did he sleep from Thursday morning till the same hour on the ensuing day. At length, however, giving way to the entreaties of his attendants, he began to restrain his sorrow, and to consider the injury which his own health might sustain by the further indulgence of his grief."*

From this account, which is in truth the only authentic information that remains respecting the death of the duke, it seems probable that he had for some time been carrying on an amorous intrigue, by the intervention of the person who so frequently visited him in disguise; and it may at the same time be concluded, that the evening on which he met with his death, he had been detected by some jealous rival, or injured husband, and had paid with his life the forfeiture of his folly, his presumption, or his guilt. The cardinal appears not to have had the least share in directing the motions of the duke; nor does it appear from Burchard, that he again left the palace, after he had returned home on the evening when the murder was committed. Throughout the whole narrative there is not the slightest indication that Cæsar had any share in the transaction, and the continuance of the favour of both his father and his mother, after this event, may sufficiently prove to every impartial mind, that he was not even suspected by them as the author of the crime.[134]

The brothers of the Medici, disappointed in their first attempt to regain their native place, now formed a more deliberate and systematic plan for effecting their purpose. Amidst the internal commotions which Florence had experienced since the expulsion of the Medici, the form of its government had undergone frequent changes, until the populace had at length usurped the whole direction, and, under

* See Burchard's Diar. in Gordon's Life of Alexander VI. App.

the influence of Savonarola, had united the enthusiasm of liberty with the fanaticism of superstition. The violent extremes to which they proceeded soon, however, produced a re-action favourable to their opponents. The inability of a set of artisans, who left their stalls, in the habits of their occupations, to regulate the concerns of the state, became apparent; the misconduct or negligence of the rulers had been manifested by an alarming scarcity of provisions; and at length, by the exertions of the more respectable inhabitants, the office of *gonfaloniere* was conferred on Bernardo del Nero, a citizen of advanced age and great authority, whose long and friendly intercourse with the family of the Medici gave reason to suppose that he was well inclined to their interest. The other offices of government were also filled by persons who were supposed to be adverse to the *fratcschi*, or followers of Savonarola. Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, Piero communicated his views to the Venetians, who promised to support him in his attempt. The concurrence of Alexander VI. who was highly exasperated against the Florentines, for the protection afforded to Savonarola, in his free censures of the abuses of the church, was easily obtained; nor did Lodovico Sforza oppose an enterprise, which, by dividing and weakening the Florentines, might afford him an opportunity of availing himself of their dissensions to his own advantage. The military commander chosen by Piero de' Medici, on this occasion, was Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who had acquired great honour in the defence of Bracciano against the arms of the pope. By the credit and exertions of the three brothers, a considerable body of troops was raised, with which d'Alviano, marching only by night, and through the least frequented roads, proceeded to Siena. He was here met by Piero and Giuliano, who had obtained further succours from the inhabitants of Siena, whose aversion to the Florentines led them to promote every measure that was likely to increase their internal commotions, or to weaken their political strength.* A communication was secretly opened between the Medici and their friends in Florence. The day was agreed upon when the

* Malavolti, Storia di Siena, par. 3, p. 103.

Medici should, early in the morning, approach the city, and enter the gates; at which time their adherents would be ready to receive them, and to second their efforts. In their progress towards Florence, they met with no interruption; and arriving within a few miles of the city, they took their stations for the night, intending to reach the walls at the hour appointed on the following morning. When, however, they prepared to pursue their route, they found their order deranged, and their progress obstructed, by the effects of an uncommon fall of rain, which had continued throughout the night; and which, by postponing their arrival until a late hour of the day, gave sufficient time to their adversaries to be apprized of their intentions. Vigorous measures were instantly adopted for the defence of the city. Paolo Vitelli, the *condottiero* of the Florentine troops, who had casually arrived there on the preceding evening, secured the gates, and took the command of those who were ready to join in repelling the attack. The partisans of the Medici, some of whom had given sufficient indications of their designs, were seized upon, and committed to safe custody; insomuch, that when the Medici arrived under the walls, instead of finding their friends ready to receive them, they discovered that every measure had been taken for resistance.[135] Being thus disappointed in their expectation of succeeding in their enterprise, by the aid of their accomplices within the city, they deliberated whether they should attack the gates, and endeavour to carry the place by storm; but, after a consultation of four hours, they concluded that their force was not equal to the undertaking. Bending their course therefore towards the papal dominions, d'Alviano and his military associates endeavoured to recompense themselves for their disappointment, by plundering the inhabitants; whilst Piero and his brother Giuliano retired in haste to Siena.

This affair did not, however, terminate without bloodshed. No sooner were the prevailing party within the walls apprized of the retreat of the Medici, and the object of their visit, than they instituted a strict inquiry as to the authors and abettors of the undertaking; in consequence of which, four of the principal citizens, Nicolo Ridolfi, Lorenzo Tornabuoni, Gianozzo Pucci, and Giovanni Cambi, were found to

be implicated in the conspiracy, and were condemned to death.[136] Bernardo del Nero, the *gonfaloniere*, accused of having been privy to their proceedings without disclosing them, was adjudged to a similar fate. The persons thus condemned appealed to the *consiglio grande*, or general assembly of the people, in conformity to a late regulation in the constitution, introduced by the *frateschi*; but the promoters of this salutary law were the first to infringe it, and the convenient pretexts of public danger, and state necessity, were alleged by the adherents of Savonarola as sufficient justifications for carrying the sentence into immediate execution.* The inhabitants of Florence, unaccustomed for a long course of years to see the political errors of their fellow-citizens punished with such sanguinary severity, derived from this transaction additional motives of dissatisfaction; and the death of these citizens, who, whether guilty or not of the crime laid to their charge, were condemned contrary to the established forms of law, was soon afterwards avenged by the slaughter of those who had been most active in their destruction.

The siege of Pisa still continued to increase in importance, and to augment the number of the contending parties. In favour of the inhabitants, the duke of Urbino, who had purchased his liberty at the expense of thirty thousand ducats, d'Alviano, his late adversary, Paolo Orsini, Astorre Baglioni, and several other commanders of independent bodies of troops, took the field, having been engaged in the cause principally by the wealth and credit of the Venetians; and the command of the whole was intrusted to the marquis of Mantua. The ardour of the Florentines kept pace with that of their enemies. They raised a considerable body of troops within the Tuscan territories, and several experienced commanders joined their standard. Paolo Vitelli, who had already rendered many important services to the republic, was appointed chief general, and the *bastone*, or emblem of command, was delivered to him with great solemnity, on a day fixed on for that purpose, by the rules of astrology. On this occasion all the astrologers in the city, who it seems

* Machiavel. Decennale, 1.

formed a numerous body, were assembled in the great court of the palace; and whilst one, who was in the immediate service of Vitelli, with the rest of his fraternity, waited, with their astrological instruments in their hands, to observe the *felice punto*, or fortunate moment, Marcello Virgilio, chancellor of the republic, delivered an oration before the magistrates in honour of their general; when on a sign being given by the person appointed for that purpose, the orator instantly concluded his speech, and Vitelli, on his knees, received from the *gonfaloniere* the emblem of his authority amidst the sound of trumpets and the plaudits of the populace.* At the same time the *Madonna dell' Imprunata* was carried through the city in a ceremonial procession; a measure which we are told had never been resorted to at Florence without manifest advantage.†

Whilst the adverse parties were thus preparing for a decisive contest, the inhabitants of Pisa despatched a body of troops, consisting of seven hundred horse and one thousand foot, to levy contributions upon, or to plunder the inhabitants of the district of Volterra. Returning with a considerable booty, they were attacked in the valley of S. Regolo, by a party of the Florentines, under the command of the count Rinuccio, and being thrown into disorder, were on the point of relinquishing their spoil; when a fresh body of horse arriving from Pisa, changed the fortune of the day, and the greater part of the Florentine detachment was either slaughtered or made prisoners. This disaster was severely felt by the Florentines, who now began to apprehend that, unless they could detach some of their adversaries from the alliance formed against them, they might eventually, not only fail in their attempt to recover the city of Pisa, but might so far exhaust their strength, as to become themselves a prey to the ambition of their enemies. Of these, the most formidable were the Venetians, who were then in the zenith of their power, and had given decisive proofs of their intentions to extend their dominion into the southern provinces of Italy. In this exigency the Florentines had recourse to Lodovico Sforza, who, by having so frequently changed the object of

* Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iii. p. 53.
† Ammirato, Hist. Fior. vol. iii. p. 254.

his political pursuit, afforded them some hopes that he might not refuse to listen to their representations. Nor were they mistaken in this opinion. Lodovico heard with attention the arguments by which they endeavoured to convince him, that, in affording assistance to the inhabitants of Pisa, he was only acting a subsidiary part to the republic of Venice, which was already too powerful for the other states of Italy, and would, by the acquisition of Pisa and its territory, become highly formidable even to Lodovico himself. Induced by these and similar motives, and actuated by that instability which characterized the whole of his conduct, Lodovico entered into the proposed treaty; and it was agreed between the parties, that, in order to avail themselves of it to greater advantage, no external demonstration of it should immediately appear, but that Lodovico should take advantage of such opportunity of withdrawing his troops, as should be most for the interest of his new allies.*

From the time of the return of Charles VIII. to his own dominions, the Italian states had been kept in continual alarm, by rumours of great preparations, said to be making for another and more powerful descent upon the kingdom of Naples; but these apprehensions were suddenly dispelled by the death of that monarch, occasioned by an apoplexy, whilst he was amusing himself by the game of tennis at the castle of Amboise, in the month of April, 1498. The exultation of the Italians on this event was not, however, well-founded, and it is probable that the death of the king, instead of being favourable to their repose, was the occasion of their being exposed to still greater calamities. Charles had little pretensions either in body or mind to the character of a hero. He had made a hazardous attempt, from the consequences of which he had been extricated with difficulty; and there was no great probability that he would have exposed himself to the dangers of a second expedition. The longer continuance of his life would therefore have prevented, or postponed, the hostile efforts of his bolder and more active successor. This successor was Louis, duke of Orleans, cousin to Charles in the fourth degree, who, under the name of Louis XII.,

* Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 195.

assumed the crown without opposition, and immediately after his accession gave a striking proof of his intentions, by taking the additional titles of duke of Milan and king of the two Sicilies. No sooner had he ascended the throne, than he found a pretext for divorcing his wife, the daughter of Louis XI., who, as he alleged, was so devoid of personal attractions, and of so sickly a constitution, that he had no hopes of progeny from her, and chose in her stead, Anne of Bretagne, the widow of his predecessor, Charles VIII., who is supposed to have been the object of his affection before her former marriage. As the dispensation of the pope was requisite for this union, Alexander VI. was happy in so favourable an opportunity of gratifying the wishes of the new sovereign; but the king was too impatient to wait the return of his ambassador, and presuming on the success of his mission, celebrated the marriage before the necessary formalities for his divorce had been expedited from Rome. This irregularity was, however, readily pardoned, and Cæsar Borgia, who had now divested himself of the rank of cardinal, was deputed to carry to France the dispensation, which was accompanied by the hat of a cardinal for George of Amboise, archbishop of Rouen. The magnificence displayed by Cæsar on this embassy far exceeded that of royalty itself: and the king remunerated his services, by conferring on him the title of duke of Valentinois, in Dauphiny, and by a grant of the annual sum of twenty thousand livres; to which was also added the promise of a territorial possession in the Milanese, as soon as the king should have completed the conquest of that country.[137] About the same time, Lucrezia, the daughter of the pontiff, was divorced from her husband, Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, and married to Alfonso of Aragon, a natural son of Alfonso II., late king of Naples.

Ever since the brothers of the Medici had been compelled to quit their native place, the Florentines had exhibited a striking instance of the effects of fanaticism, in debasing both the intellectual and moral powers of the mind. Absurd and blasphemous pretensions to the peculiar favour of heaven, to the power of working miracles, and of predicting future events, were asserted by Savonarola and his followers, who attempted to establish the reign of Jesus Christ, as it was

impiously called, by acts of violence and bloodshed. This sudden depression occasioned, however, as sudden a reverse. No sooner were the Florentines convinced of the fraudulent practices of their pretended prophet, than they satiated their resentment by the destruction of the man who had so long been the object of their admiration; after which they committed his body, together with those of two of his associates, to the flames, and scattered their ashes in the river Arno. Respecting the character of Savonarola, a great diversity of opinions has arisen, as well in his own as in subsequent times; and whilst some have considered him as a saint and a martyr, others have stigmatized him as an impostor and a demagogue. It requires not, however, any great discernment to perceive, that Savonarola united in himself those exact proportions of knavery, talents, folly, and learning, which, combined with the insanity of superstition, compose the character of a fanatic; the motives and consequences of whose conduct are perhaps no less obscure and inexplicable to himself, than they are to the rest of mankind.*

The secret treaty between Lodovico Sforza and the state of Florence was much more detrimental to the Venetians than it would have been if publicly avowed. By his solicitations, several of the Italian leaders, who had engaged in the defence of Pisa, were induced to enter into the service of the Florentines; and the army of the republic, under the command of Paolo Vitelli, at length took the field, with a considerable body of horse, and a powerful train of artillery. Having hastily passed the Arno, Vitelli first bombarded the castle of Buti, where the Venetians attempted to oppose his progress. This place he carried by assault on the second day. Thence he proceeded towards Pisa, and having stationed several bodies of troops in the vicinity, so as to prevent the approach of supplies to the city, he turned his artillery against Vico Pisano, a fortress in the neighbourhood of Pisa, where, having made a breach in the walls, he compelled the garrison to capitulate, and proceeded, by regular approaches, to reduce the city to submission.†

* For the particulars of the catastrophe of Savonarola, see Life of Lor. de Medici.

† Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 199.

In the mean time the exiled brothers of the Medici, conceiving that another opportunity was now afforded them for attempting the recovery of Florence, requested the Venetian senate to admit them as associates in the war: representing to them the practicability of sending a body of troops through the passes of the Apennines, where they would be joined by the numerous friends of the Medici in that quarter, by whose assistance they might attack the city before it could be provided with the means of defence. The Venetians, at this time closely pressed by Vitelli, willingly accepted the offer; and a large body of infantry was immediately collected, the command of which was given to the duke of Urbino, and Astorre Baglioni, of Perugia. Piero de' Medici, with his brother Giuliano, and his cousin Giulio, having united their troops with those of Bartolommeo d'Alviano and Carlo Orsino, joined the Venetians in the Val de Lamone, and possessed themselves of the small town of Marra. They soon, however, found themselves opposed by the Florentines, with whom Lodovico Sforza had now united his arms; but the duke of Urbino pressed forwards, and, having captured the town of Bibbiena, descended into the sterile district of Casentino, through which the Arno continues its course to Florence; and, although his operations were retarded no less by the severity of the weather than by the efforts of his enemies, his approach filled the inhabitants of Florence with consternation. They, therefore, directed their commander, Vitelli, to fortify, in the best manner he could, the places which he had occupied near Pisa, and to proceed immediately to oppose the Medici in Casentino. The courage and experience of the duke of Urbino, and the ardour and rapidity of d'Alviano, were opposed by the vigilance and caution of Vitelli. With inconceivable industry he fortified the passes by which alone the troops of the Medici could approach; he restrained their excursions on every side; he weakened their forces in various skirmishes, and harassed them by cutting off their supplies. Unable either to procure subsistence, or to change the situation of their troops, the Venetian commissaries, with the brothers of the Medici, secretly deserted their army, and fled for safety to the town of Bibbiena. The soldiers themselves were compelled to

undergo that last of all military disgraces, the compulsory surrender of their arms; after which they were permitted by their conquerors to retire, dejected, emaciated, and disgraced, to their own country.[138]

During the contest respecting the city of Pisa, the Florentines had at various times made overtures to the Venetians and their allies, for compromising the differences to which it had given rise; but the senate, conscious of their superiority and desirous of reducing the territory of Pisa under their own dominion, had, under various pretexts, refused to listen to any terms of pacification. The disgraceful defeat of their troops in Casentino, and the vigour with which Vitelli carried on the siege of Pisa, at length induced them to relax in their pretensions; and by the intervention of Lodovico Sforza, it was, after long negotiation, agreed, that all differences between the contending parties should be finally decided by Ercole, duke of Ferrara. Having undertaken the office of mediator, and heard the various representations of the different envoys, he published his determination on the sixth day of April, 1499; by which he ordered, that the Venetians should immediately withdraw their troops from the Florentine and Pisan territories; that the Florentines should pay to them one hundred and eighty thousand ducats, by stated payments of fifteen thousand in each year, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and that the city of Pisa should return to its obedience to Florence, under certain restrictions, by which the administration of justice, both criminal and civil, and the public revenue of the state, were secured to the inhabitants.*

This determination, instead of reconciling the contending parties, was received with disapprobation by all. The Venetians, disappointed in those views of aggrandizement with which they had entered into the war, considered the payment of an annual sum as no alleviation of their vexation and disgrace. The Florentines murmured, that, after the enormous expenses which they had already sustained in the defence of their long-established rights, they should be compelled to reimburse the Venetians to so large an amount; whilst their

* Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 220.

dominion over the city and territory of Pisa was mutilated and restricted, so that they could not indemnify themselves in that quarter for any part of their expenditure. But, above all, the citizens of Pisa exclaimed against the decision of the duke; which they contended would, in effect, deliver them once more into the absolute power of their oppressors, who would soon find a pretext to deprive them of their immunities, and to reduce them to the same disgraceful state of vassalage under which they had so long laboured. It was to no purpose that the duke attempted, by an additional decree, to obviate these objections. The continuance of the war was resolved upon; and measures were resorted to for the renewal of hostilities with greater violence than before.

In some respects, however, the contest took a different aspect. From some indications in the course of the treaty, the citizens of Pisa began to suspect, that the Venetians might at length accommodate their differences with the Florentines, and that their city might be considered as the price of reconciliation; whilst the Venetians affecting to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the inhabitants, withdrew their troops from the defence of the city, for the purpose, in fact, of securing the possession of such parts of the territory as they might be enabled to occupy. The citizens saw without regret the departure of their doubtful allies; and with the aid of a few mercenaries, who had been introduced within the walls by the Venetians, and who agreed to join in their defence, they resolved to maintain their independence to the last extremity. The walls of Pisa were of uncommon strength. The fortresses were well provided and garrisoned. The inhabitants were numerous and courageous; many of them were respectable by their rank and talents; and an unremitting warfare of several years had habituated them to military fatigues. Above all, their aversion to the government of the Florentines was inextinguishable; and this sentiment alone supplied every deficiency.

On the other hand, the Florentines lost no time in availing themselves of the successes which they had already obtained. Besides a considerable body of horse, their army was now increased to ten thousand foot; with whhich, and the aid of

twenty large pieces of artillery, Vitelli attacked the fortress of Stampace, on which the citizens of Pisa chiefly relied for the defence of the city. The exertions of the besieged to repair the breaches, although both sexes and all descriptions of persons united in the labour, were ineffectual, and an unremitting cannonade of ten days at length levelled a great part of the walls. Of those engaged in the defence, many were slaughtered; the rest took refuge in the city, and were closely pursued by the Florentine troops, who at that moment might in all probability have possessed themselves of the prize for which they had so long contended. Vitelli, however, either did not perceive, or did not choose to avail himself of the opportunity afforded him for terminating the war. Satisfied with the success of the day, in the acquisition of the fortress, and conceiving that the city would now become an easy prey, he restrained the ardour of the soldiery, and allowed the inhabitants to recover from their panic. But although Vitelli had omitted to storm the city, he persevered with the utmost vigilance in such measures as were most likely to compel the inhabitants to surrender; and, in the various means which he adopted for reducing the place, gave striking proofs of those abilities by which he had obtained his military reputation. The constant use of artillery had again effected a breach in the walls; the soldiers, inflamed with the hopes of plunder, were earnest for the attack; the Florentine commissaries remonstrated with Vitelli on the injudicious and dangerous delays which he manifested in all his proceedings, and a time was at length fixed upon for storming the place, which it was agreed should be the twenty-fourth day of August. But, whilst the fruits of his labours were thus ripening, and seemed only to court his hand, a sudden blight deprived Vitelli of his expected prize. The low and marshy district in the vicinity of Pisa had combined with the slaughter of the soldiery, to occasion a pestilential distemper in the Florentine camp, which in the course of a few days made so rapid a progress, that, at the time appointed, a sufficient number of troops could not be collected to proceed to the attack. Fresh levies of soldiers were poured in by the Florentines; but the destructive malignity of the disorder

destroyed them more rapidly than they could be replaced.* Smitten, like the Greeks before Troy, by an invisible hand, the Florentine troops were compelled to abandon their enterprise, in order to secure a retreat, before the further progress of the disease should so far debilitate them, as to render them an easy conquest to the exasperated and vindictive inhabitants. Vitelli therefore embarked his artillery on the Arno, for the purpose of conveying it to Leghorn; but by an unfortunate fatality, the greater part of it fell into the hands of the enemy. Quitting with the remainder of his troops the contagious precincts of Pisa, he proceeded through the Via Marrana towards Cascina. On his arrival at this place, he was met by a deputation from the citizens of Florence, by whom he was made a prisoner, and conducted to that city, where he was put to the torture, for the purpose of inducing him to confess that he had conducted himself with treachery towards the republic. Among other charges against him, it was alleged, that he had held an interview with the Medici in the war of Casentino, and that he had intentionally suffered them to escape, although he had it in his power to have sent them prisoners to Florence, to have received the due reward of their rebellion against their country. His conduct before Pisa was, however, a still more grievous cause of offence; and although no acknowledgment of either guilt or error could be obtained from him, he was ordered to be decapitated; and the sentence was on the same night carried into effect.[139] His brother Vitellozzo, although at that time labouring under sickness, had the good fortune to effect his escape, and fled to Pisa, with as many of his followers as he could prevail upon to accompany him. He was received with great exultation by the inhabitants, who by their own resolution, and a fortunate concurrence of events, were at length freed from their adversaries, and once more indulged themselves in the hope of establishing the ancient independence of their republic.

* Guicciard. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 235. Muratori, Annali d'Ital. ix. 597. Macchiavelli also alludes to this circumstance in his first "Decennale."

CHAPTER VI.

1499—1503.

Louis XII. resolves to attempt the conquest of Milan and Naples—Forms an alliance with Alexander VI. and the Venetians—The cardinal de' Medici quits Italy—Travels through various parts of Europe—Louis XII. possesses himself of the duchy of Milan—Cæsar Borgia attacks the cities of Romagna—Imprisonment and death of Lodovico Sforza—The cardinal de' Medici arrives at Rome—The Florentines again attack Pisa—Cæsar Borgia perseveres in his hostilities against the Italian states—The Medici attempt a fourth time to effect their return to Florence—Cæsar Borgia threatens that city—Treacherous combination between Louis XII. and Ferdinand of Spain—Federigo, king of Naples, is deprived of his dominions—He retires to France—Gonsalvo betrays the young duke of Calabria—Cæsar Borgia captures the states of Piombino, Camerino, and Urbino—Pietro Soderini preserves Florence from the attacks of Borgia—Is appointed Gonfaloniere for life—Alliance between Cæsar Borgia and Louis XII.—The Italian nobles oppose the proceedings of Borgia—Several of them treacherously put to death by him at Sinigaglia—He seizes on their territories—Death of Alexander VI.—Remarks on his character and conduct.

Whilst Italy continued to be thus agitated by internal commotions, another storm was gathering beyond the Alps, which soon burst with additional violence on that unhappy country. The attack of Charles VIII. upon the kingdom of Naples was the effect of a puerile ambition; but Louis XII. was a courageous and politic prince, and the personal experience which he had acquired during the expedition of Charles VIII., in which he had himself borne a principal part, rendered him a still more dangerous enemy. After having openly asserted his pretensions to the crown of Naples and the states of Milan, he began to negotiate with the other powers of Europe, and in particular with the Italian governments, for their assistance or neutrality in the approaching contest.

In gaining over Alexander VI. to his interests he found

but little difficulty. That ambitious pontiff, incessantly aiming at the exaltation of his family, and desirous, beyond measure, of establishing his authority in the kingdom of Naples, where he had already obtained considerable influence, had proposed to Federigo the marriage of Cæsar Borgia with one of his daughters, whose dowry he expected should be the extensive principality of Tarentum. This union was, however, rejected in the most decisive terms by Federigo; who, although he was not ignorant that his refusal would draw down upon him the resentment of the pontiff, chose rather to abide its consequences, than assent to an alliance, which he considered as still more dangerous. Thus disappointed in the hopes of aggrandizement which he had so warmly cherished from this quarter, Alexander was prepared for any propositions from the French monarch, which might enable him to gratify his resentment against the king of Naples. A reciprocation of favours had already commenced between Louis XII. and the pope, by which both parties had been highly gratified; and this connection was speedily strengthened by the marriage of Cæsar Borgia with Carlotta, daughter of John d'Albert, king of Navarre,[140] and a near relation to Louis XII., and by the promotion of the brother of that princess to the purple. The marriage took place on the twelfth day of May, 1499; and from this period Alexander considered himself as devoted to the interests of France, and was ready to employ both his spiritual and temporal arms in her service.[141] The Venetians, disgusted with the irresolute and treacherous conduct of Lodovico Sforza, had already been induced, by the promise of being put into possession of the city of Cremona, and the district of Ghiaradadda, to enter into a league with Louis XII. to assist him in the recovery of Milan, in which a power was reserved to Alexander VI. to become a party.* Of this privilege the pope soon afterwards availed himself; having first stipulated, among other articles, that the states of Imola, Forli, Faenza, and Pesaro, then under the government of their respective lords, should be conquered by the arms of the allies, and united under the sole dominion of Cæsar Borgia.

* This treaty, bearing date the 15th of April, 1499, is given in the "Corps Diplomatique" of Dumont, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 406.

These portentous transactions were not regarded with an inattentive eye by the cardinal de' Medici. He had now attempted, in conjunction with his brothers, at three different times, to effect the restoration of his family to their native place. The ill fortune or misconduct of Piero had defeated all their endeavours, and every new attempt had only served to increase the violence of their enemies, and to bar the gates of Florence more firmly against them. During five years he had been compelled to avail himself successively of the protection of the ancient friends of his family in different parts of Italy; but as the hope of his restoration to Florence diminished, he began to be regarded as an exile and a fugitive, and in the approaching disturbances of Italy, it was not easy to determine in what part he might find a secure asylum. The city of Rome, which ought to have afforded him a safe and honourable residence, was rendered irksome to him by the vices, and dangerous by the animosity of the pontiff; whilst the Florentines, in order to secure themselves during the approaching commotions, had acceded to the league with France, and thereby cut off from the Medici all hopes of deriving assistance from that power on which they had hitherto relied. Impelled by these circumstances, and perhaps also actuated by the laudable desire of visiting foreign countries, the cardinal determined to quit Italy, and to pass some portion of his time in traversing the principal kingdoms of Europe, till events might arise more favourable to his views.

This design he communicated to his cousin, Giulio de' Medici, and it was agreed to form a party of twelve friends; a number which they considered sufficiently large for their mutual security in the common incidents of a journey, and too small to afford any cause of alarm. Discarding, therefore, the insignia of their rank, and equipping themselves in an uniform manner, they passed through the states of Venice, and visited most of the principal cities of Germany; assuming in turn the command of their troop, and partaking of all the amusements afforded by continual change of place, and the various manners of the inhabitants. On their arrival at Ulm, their singular appearance occasioned their being detained by the magistrates; but, on their disclosing their quality and purpose, they were sent under a guard to

the emperor Maximilian, who received the cardinal with that respect and attention, to which, from the celebrity of his ancestors, and his high rank in the church, he was so well entitled. Far from interrupting their progress, Maximilian highly commended the magnanimity of the cardinal, in bearing his adverse fortune with patience; and his judgment and prudence in applying to the purposes of useful information that portion of his time, of which he could not now dispose to better advantage. Besides furnishing him with an honourable passport through the German states, Maximilian gave him letters to his son Philip, then governor of the Low Countries; recommending the cardinal and his companions to his protection and favour. After having passed a considerable time in Germany, the associated friends proceeded to Flanders; where they were received by Philip, not only with hospitality, but with magnificence. The cardinal then intended to have taken shipping, and proceeded to England; but the danger of the voyage deterred his friends from the undertaking; and, at their entreaties, he relinquished his design.* They, therefore, bent their course towards France. On their arrival at Rouen they were again seized upon, and detained in custody; and, although the cardinal, and his cousin, Giulio, made an immediate discovery of their rank, and represented the object of their journey to be totally unconnected with political concerns; yet, in the state of hostility that had then commenced between the kings of France and of Naples, there appeared to be too much ground for suspicion to admit of their being speedily released; nor was it until letters were obtained from Piero de' Medici, then in the French camp at Milan, that they were enabled to procure their discharge. Having again obtained their liberty, they proceeded through France, visiting every place deserving of notice, and examining whatever was remarkable till they arrived at Marseilles. After a short stay, they determined to proceed by sea immediately to Rome. The winds being, however, unfavourable, they were compelled to coast the Riviera of Genoa, where having been driven on shore, they thought it advisable to relinquish their voyage, and to proceed by land to Savona.

* Ammir. Ritratti, Opusc. vol. iii. p. 66.

On their arrival at this place they met with the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, who had fled thither to avoid the resentment of Alexander VI. A common enmity to that profligate pontiff, and a similarity of misfortunes, rendered their meeting interesting; and three refugees sat at the same table, all of whom were afterwards elevated to the highest dignity in the Christian world. The two cousins of the Medici gave an account of the objects which they had met with on their journey; and related the difficulties which they had surmounted by land, and the dangers which they had encountered by sea. The cardinal della Rovere recapitulated in his turn the events which had taken place in Italy since their departure, and in which they were so deply interested. From Savona the cardinal de' Medici repaired to Genoa, where for some time he took up his residence with his sister, Madalena, the wife of Francesco Cibò, who had fixed upon that city as the place of his permanent abode.

During the absence of the cardinal from Rome, a very considerable change had taken place in the political state of Italy. The French army under the command of d'Aubigny had crossed the Alps; and, forming a junction with the troops of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, who had obtained the rank of marshal of France, occupied several of the principal towns in the Milanese, and had at length captured and sacked the capital. It was not without difficulty that Lodovico Sforza effected his escape into the Tyrol. Louis XII., informed of the success of his arms, hastened to Milan, which he entered as sovereign, on the sixth day of October, 1499, amidst the acclamations of the people; who, wearied with the tyranny of the usurper, regarded the French as the avengers of his crimes, and the assertors of their rights.* On this occasion, the rightful heir to the supreme authority fell into the hands of Louis XII., who tore him from his mother Isabella, and sent him into a monastery in France, whilst Isabella herself, having witnessed the destruction of her husband and children at Milan, returned to Naples to behold that of her whole family. The arms of the French and their allies in Italy having thus far been successful, the conquering parties began

* Murat. Ann. d'Italia, vol. ix. p. 600.

to divide the spoil. The states of Milan and of Genoa were received into the allegiance of the king of France.* The city and district of Cremona were surrendered up to the Venetians, as had been previously agreed on; and it only remained to gratify the wishes of Alexander, and his son Cæsar Borgia, by obtaining for the latter the dominion of the several states in Romagna, which had been promised to him as a recompense for the concurrence of the pope in the league with France.

Cæsar Borgia, now no longer called the cardinal of Valenza, but duke of Valentinois, having obtained a considerable body of French troops, and united them with the papal forces, proceeded to attack the city of Imola, which he soon compelled to capitulate. The fortress of Forli was defended with great courage by Caterina Sforza, the mother of the young prince Ottaviano Riario; but all resistance to so superior a force being ineffectual, she was at length obliged to surrender; and being made a prisoner, was sent to the castle of S. Angelo, at Rome. She was, however, soon afterwards liberated in consequence of the representations of Ivo d'Allegri, who commanded the French troops in the service of Cæsar Borgia, and who was induced, not less from admiration of her courage, than compassion for her sex, to interest himself in her behalf. The further progress of the united armies was prevented by new disturbances in the Milanese, in consequence of which d'Allegri returned with the troops under his command into that district; and Cæsar, hastening to Rome, entered the city on the twenty-sixth day of February, 1500, with extraordinary pomp.† A carnival was soon afterwards celebrated, in which he displayed his magnificence at an incredible expense; and, as a reward for his achievements, the pope presented him with the golden consecrated rose, and dignified him with the title of *Gonfaloniere* of the holy Roman church.

The period was now fast approaching in which Lodovico Sforza, the author of so many calamities to his country, and to mankind, was to meet with the retribution that awaited

* *Vide* Mach. lib. del Principe, p. 6, ed. 1550.

† The particulars of this splendid procession are fully given by Burchard.

his misdeeds. After having in vain attempted to procure the assistance of the emperor elect, Maximilian, he resorted to the mercenary aid of the Swiss, from whom he engaged an army of eight thousand men. With this force, and such additional troops as his own exertions, and those of his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, could raise, he suddenly descended into Italy, and passing by the lake of Como, possessed himself of the adjacent city. The commencement of his undertaking was prosperous. The cruelties and enormities practised by the French had already convinced the people of the error into which they had been led by a too favourable opinion of their conquerors. The cities of Milan opened their gates to their former sovereign; whose government, though severe, appeared to them kind and lenient in comparison with the tyranny of the French. Louis XII. was, however, unwilling to relinquish his conquests without further efforts. Fresh troops were poured over the Alps; the principal part of which consisted also of Swiss mercenaries, who, to the number of ten thousand, engaged to oppose their own countrymen; and who, joined to six thousand French troops, under the command of the duke de la Tremouille, again threatened the destruction of the house of Sforza. The contest between the two armies was concentred at the city of Novara, from which Lodovico had expelled the French; who still, however, kept possession of the fortress. Whilst the event of the war yet remained uncertain, that treachery, of which Lodovico had so often set the example, was now employed to his own destruction. A secret intercourse had already taken place between the Swiss troops in his service and the French commander. At the moment when he expected to avail himself of their assistance, they suddenly deserted his standard, alleging that they would not oppose their countrymen in battle; and, with the privity and concurrence of the French, took the direct road towards their own country.* In attempting to effect his escape, Lodovico was, on the tenth day of April, 1500, made prisoner, with several of his nobility and friends.[42] His own crimes afforded a pretext to Louis XII. for treating him with a

* The treacherous conduct of the Swiss was notorious, and is commemorated by several writers of the day.

degree of cruelty, which, in fact, only served to gratify the resentment of the king, for the opposition given to his pretensions, and which changed the remembrance of the misconduct of Lodovico into compassion for his misfortunes. Conveyed to the castle of Loches, in the duchy of Berri,* he was there inclosed in a dark and lonely chamber; where, daily furnished with the means of life, but deprived of all that could render life tolerable, he languished in solitude and misery the remainder of his existence, a space of ten years.

Such were the events that had taken place in Italy during the absence of the cardinal de' Medici, and which speedily prepared the way to still more important alterations. From Genoa the cardinal hastened to Rome, in the expectation that, amidst the changes and commotions to which the pretensions of Louis XII. and the ambition of Cæsar Borgia incessantly gave rise, an opportunity might yet occur of restoring the Medici to their former authority in the city of Florence. On his arrival at Rome, the moderation of his conduct, and the respectability of his life, seemed to have effected a change in the disposition of the pope; who, from this time, appears to have laid aside his ill-will, and to have treated the cardinal with the respect and attention due to his rank. But, although this alteration in the conduct of the pope was sufficiently observable, it was not supposed, by those who had the best opportunities of forming a just opinion of these very opposite characters, that Alexander was sincere in his professions of esteem for one whom he had so lately marked as an object of his displeasure. On the contrary, it was conjectured, that the crafty pontiff was only desirous of avoiding the imputation of having such a man as the cardinal for his enemy, and of screening himself from the odium which he justly deserved, by inducing a belief, that he lived with him on terms of intimacy and confidence.†

The award of the duke of Ferrara for terminating the war respecting the city of Pisa, having been rendered ineffectual by the dissent of all the parties, the Florentines had begun

* Guicciard. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 252. Murat. Ann. vol. ix. p. 605.

† Greg. Cortesi, Ep. ad Leon. X. inter ejusd. ep. fam. p. 219. Ven. 1573.

to take measures for repairing their former disasters; and, as they had concurred with the Venetians and the pope, in the league with France, they conceived that they were also entitled to derive some advantage from the successes of the allies, towards which they had contributed by sending to the aid of the king a considerable body of troops.[143] These pretensions were urged with great eagerness; insomuch, that the cardinal of Rohan, who governed the Milanese states on behalf of Louis XII., was at length prevailed upon to furnish the Florentines with a body of six hundred horse, and eight thousand Swiss soldiers, accompanied by a formidable train of artillery, and a supply of ammunition, for the purpose of reducing the citizens of Pisa to obedience. With this aid, and a considerable additional body of Italian mercenaries, the Florentines again assaulted that unfortunate city, which the inhabitants had fortified to the utmost of their power. The besieged did not, however, wholly rely either on the strength of their ramparts, or on their own courage; but had recourse to artifice and negotiation for mitigating the violence, or obviating the effects of the threatened attack. To this end, they despatched their envoys to the French governors in Milan and Genoa, as well as to Beaumont, the commander of the French troops destined for the assault, proposing to deliver up the city to the French king, provided he would receive them as his subjects, and afford them his protection. To this offer Ravestan, the governor of Genoa, expressed his assent, but Beaumont still persevered in the attack; and, having at length succeeded in demolishing a part of the walls, he ordered his troops to commence the assault. An ill-disciplined and tumultuous body of horse and foot rushed towards the city; but although the walls were destroyed, an immense trench, which the industry of the inhabitants had formed within them, with an additional rampart, unexpectedly opposed their further progress.* In one moment the daring assailants were converted into astonished spectators, and the remainder of the day was passed without any effort to surmount the difficulty. The offers made to the king of France now began to produce their effects. Many of the French

* Nardi, lib. iv. p. 56.

officers were favourable to the cause of the inhabitants. An amicable intercourse soon took place between them, and they who had been repulsed as enemies, were now admitted as friends. By this communication, and the long delay to which it gave rise, the discipline of the besieging army was wholly destroyed. A general mutiny took place, in which the soldiery seized upon the supplies intended for the siege, sacked the camp, and took prisoner the Florentine commissary, Luca d'Albizi, on a pretext that the arrears of their pay had not been duly discharged. No sooner was the besieging army dispersed, than the troops in the city sallied out, and proceeding to Librafatta, a garrison-town on the Tuscan frontier, with great intrepidity scaled the walls, and possessed themselves of the place; which was of the utmost importance to their safety, as it opened to them all the country towards Lucca.* Nor did the misfortunes of the Florentines terminate here. Louis XII., exasperated beyond measure at the dishonour which the French arms had sustained in this enterprise, accused the Florentines of having rendered it abortive by their own parsimony and imprudence. The Florentines were earnest to justify themselves; for which purpose they despatched two ambassadors to the king, one of whom was the celebrated Nicolo Machiavelli;† but their representations were of little avail; and it was only by the payment of a certain sum, for the support, as the king pretended, of the Swiss troops on their return to Milan, that they were again received into favour. The resentment of the monarch being thus pacified, he once more proposed to afford them his assistance. But the Florentines, suspecting, perhaps, that he had himself designs upon the city of Pisa, or being already so far exhausted as to be unable to bear the expenses which a new attempt must inevitably occasion, thought proper to decline his further aid.

In the mean time Cæsar Borgia persevered in his attempt to subdue the cities of Romagna. By the assistance of the French troops he soon possessed himself of Pesaro, the patrimony of Giovanni Sforza; and of Rimini, then subject to Pandolfo Malatesti. The conquest of Faenza was an under-

* Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 257.
† Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 67.

taking of greater difficulty. Such was the attachment of the inhabitants to their young sovereign, Astorre Manfredi, then only seventeen years of age, that the utmost efforts of the assailants were unable to reduce the place until the following year, when the city surrendered to the French and papal arms. Even then, the possession was only obtained under the sanction of honourable capitulation, by which the young prince, who had already distinguished himself by his military talents, was to hold a respectable rank in the service of Cæsar Borgia. No sooner, however, had that implacable tyrant secured his person, than he sent him, accompanied by his natural brother, to Rome, where they were both put to death.* He then turned his arms against Bologna, where he had already a secret communication with some of the principal citizens, whom he had seduced to espouse his cause; but Giovanni Bentivoglio, who then held the supreme authority, having discovered the intrigue, seized upon several of the conspirators, who were immediately slaughtered by his adherents; and, having diligently attended to the defence of the city, prevented, for a time, the further progress of the usurper, who had intended to constitute Bologna the capital of his new government; of which the pope had already granted him the investiture, by the title of duke of Romagna.†

Whilst Cæsar Borgia, thus checked in his career, was hesitating against whom he should next lead the formidable body of troops of which he had obtained the command, the Medici conceived that a favourable opportunity was once more afforded them of regaining their former authority in the city of Florence. The want of ability and energy in the government of that place became daily more conspicuous. The city, exhausted of its wealth, was distracted by tumults; whilst the Tuscan territories were disgraced by dissensions and feuds among the principal families. In this situation of affairs, Piero de' Medici, encouraged by the Venetians, and supported by the Orsini, and by Vitellozzo Vitelli, whose animosity to the Florentines, on account of the death of his brother Paolo, was inextinguishable, hastened to the camp of Cæsar Borgia, and endeavoured to convince him of the

* Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 262.
† Jovii, vita Leonis X. lib. i. p. 24.

advantages which he would derive from marching his troops into the Florentine territory, and effecting a change in the government.* At the same time Giuliano de' Medici suddenly presented himself at the court of Louis XII., who was then highly displeased with the Florentines, and, by the promise of a large subsidy for the support of the expedition against Naples, and the assurances of a constant devotion to the French government, obtained from the king the promise of his support in the intended enterprise.† But Cæsar Borgia, although he received Piero de' Medici with apparent kindness, and even promised to promote his cause, had no object less at heart than the restoration of the Medici to Florence;[144] having already formed designs more conducive to his own interest. He considered, however, that, in the deranged state of the affairs of Florence, he could not fail, either of occupying some desirable part of their territory, or of obtaining such terms as might be favourable to the prosecution of his favourite project, the establishment of the duchy of Romagna. Nor is it improbable that he had indulged the hope of availing himself of some fortunate concurrence of circumstances to subjugate to his own authority the whole of the Tuscan state.

About the beginning of the month of May, 1501, Cæsar descended with his army, consisting of seven thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, from Romagna, into the district of Mugello, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of Barberino. He was here joined by a body of troops from Bologna, which had been sent to his assistance by Bentivoglio, in pursuance of a treaty concluded between them.‡ From Barberino, Cæsar despatched his envoys to Florence, to acquaint the citizens with the purpose of his approach, and to prescribe to them the terms on which alone he would withdraw his troops. Of these proposals, as preserved by Nardi, the principal were, that the Florentines should pay him a considerable stipend, as their *Condottiero;* that they should not interfere with him in his meditated attack upon the other states of Italy, and particularly that of Piombino, then

* Aug. Vespucci Ep. ad Macch. ap. Band. Coll. Vet. Mon. p. 52.
† Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 263.
‡ Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 71.

under the protection of Florence; that they should deliver up to him six of the principal citizens as hostages, to be named by Vitellozzo; and lastly, that they should restore Piero de' Medici to his former honours, or should otherwise make such an alteration in the government as might secure on their part the performance of the proposed treaty. No sooner were these propositions heard in the city, than they excited the highest indignation; insomuch, that the magistrates, whilst deliberating on the measures to be adopted, could scarcely be secured from the violence of the people. But, whilst the negotiation was depending, and the result was yet uncertain, Cæsar received peremptory orders from the pope, to abstain from any further proceedings against the Florentines. In consequence of this mandate, he unwillingly withdrew his troops; not, however, without obtaining the appointment of *Condottiero* to the republic, with an annual income of thirty-six thousand ducats, and a stipulation that he should not be obliged to serve in person.* The motives that induced Alexander VI. thus to interfere in the designs of Cæsar Borgia arose from the representations of Louis XII., who, although he might have consented to the restoration of the family of Medici to their former authority in Florence, was too well apprized of the character of Alexander VI. and his son, to permit them to obtain such an ascendancy in that city, as must have resulted from their being the instruments of such restoration. Nor was it difficult to perceive, that an influence so extensive as the family of Borgia would then have acquired might, in case of a rupture with the pope, have formed an effectual barrier against the projected invasion of the kingdom of Naples; on which account Louis had given positive directions to his general, d'Aubigny, that in case Cæsar did not, on the first representation to him, evacuate the Florentine dominions, he should employ all his forces to compel him to retreat.

Whilst Cæsar Borgia was thus industriously attempting by fraud or by force, to establish an independent authority in Italy, another event took place, which surpassed his crimes, in treachery and injustice, and in the extent of the theatre

* Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 265.

on which it was transacted, no less than he was himself surpassed in rank and importance by the perpetrators. Federigo, king of Naples, had commenced his reign with the affection of his people; and his disposition and talents were well calculated to promote their happiness. Even those who had revolted, or quitted the country, under the reigns of Ferdinand I. and Alfonso II., had returned with confidence to their allegiance; and the princes of Salerno and Bisignano were among the first to salute him as their sovereign.* Federigo, on his part, lost no opportunity of confirming the favourable opinion already entertained of him. Instead of persecuting such of the nobility as had espoused the cause of the French, he restored to them their domains and fortresses. He patronized and liberally rewarded the many eminent scholars by whom the city of Naples was distinguished, and who had been injured or exiled during the late commotions; and, as an indication of the tenor of conduct which he meant to adopt, he struck a medal, with a device, alluding to the better order of things which he meant to establish.[145] But, although the reign of Federigo commenced under the happiest auspices, it was not destined to be of long duration; and whilst he supposed that every day gave additional security to his authority, the kings of France and of Spain had, by a secret treaty, divided between them his dominions, and formed a scheme for carrying their purpose into effect. This plan, which has served as a model on subsequent occasions, was, that the king of France should assert his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, as representative of the house of Anjou; the infallible consequence of which would be, that Federigo would resort for assistance to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, who should send over a considerable military force, under the pretext of opposing the French; but that, as soon as the latter arrived, the Spanish troops should unite their arms with their pretended adversaries, expel the family of Aragon, and divide the kingdom between the two sovereigns. By this treaty the king of France was to possess the city of Naples, the provinces called Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzo, with a moiety of the income arising

* Giannone, Storia di Napoli, vol. iii. p. 391.

from the pastures of Apulia, and was to assume, in addition to his titles of king of France and duke of Milan, that of king of Naples and Jerusalem. The districts of Calabria and Apulia, with the other moiety of the income, were allotted to the king of Spain, who was to style himself duke of those provinces. This treaty, which bears date the eleventh day of November, 1500, is yet extant;* and, if the moral sense of mankind be not extinguished by the subsequent repetition of such enormities, will consign the memory of these royal plunderers to merited execration.

Preliminaries being thus adjusted, Louis XII. began openly to prepare for the intended attack, the direction of which he confided to his general, d'Aubigny, who commenced his expedition at the head of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. Federigo was no sooner apprized of this measure than he despatched information of it to Gonsalvo, the Spanish general, who had withdrawn his troops into Sicily, on the pretence that he might be in readiness, in case his assistance should again be required in the kingdom of Naples. On the arrival of Gonsalvo, the king confided to his care the fortified places in Calabria, which the Spanish general pretended were necessary for the security of his army. Federigo had also raised a considerable body of troops, which had been reinforced by those of the Colonna; with which, when joined by the Spanish army, he expected to be enabled to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of the French. All Italy was in suspense, and a contest far more bloody than had of late occurred was expected to plunge that country into new calamities. A short time, however, removed all apprehensions on this head. No sooner had the French troops made their appearance in the Roman territories, than the envoys of the allied monarchs met at Rome; where, entering together into the consistory, they notified to the pope and cardinals the treaty already formed, and the consequent division of the kingdom of Naples. The convenient pretext of the promotion of the Christian faith, by a war against the infidels, for the preparations necessary to which, it was asserted, that kingdom afforded the most con-

* Du Mont, Corps Diplomatique, vol. iii. par. ii. p. 444.

venient station, was the mask under which their *most Catholic* and *most Christian* majesties affected to hide from the world the deformity of their crime.

The stipulations thus agreed upon met with no opposition from Alexander VI., who had now an opportunity of gratifying the resentment which he had so long harboured against the king of Naples. On the twenty-fifth day of June, 1501, a pontifical bull deprived Federigo of his dominions, and divided them between the two monarchs, in the shares before mentioned.* The intelligence of this alliance, and of its consequences, struck Federigo with terror; but Gonsalvo, pretending to discredit it, continued to give him the most positive assurances of his assistance. No sooner, however, had the French army entered the Neapolitan territory, than he avowed his instructions, and immediately sent off from Naples to Spain, in vessels already provided for that purpose, the two dowager queens, one of whom was the sister, and the other the niece of the Spanish king. Federigo persevered in the defence of his rights; and intrusting the command of the city of Naples to Prospero Colonna, determined to make his first resistance at Capua. D'Aubigny had, however, already possessed himself of the adjacent country; the king was obliged to return with his army from Aversa to Naples; and Capua, being taken by assault on the twenty-fifth day of July, was sacked by the French, with circumstances of peculiar cruelty and unexampled licentiousness.† The loss of Capua was speedily followed by the capitulation of the city of Naples, which purchased an exemption from plunder by the payment of seventy thousand ducats to the invaders. Federigo withdrew himself into the Castel-nuovo, which he refused to surrender till he had effected a treaty with d'Aubigny, by which he was to be allowed to retire to the island of Ischia, and to retain it for six months, and was also to be at liberty to remove from the Castel-nuovo and Castello dell' Uovo whatever he might think proper, excepting the artillery. In negotiating for his own safety, he did not forget that of his subjects. A general amnesty was to be granted of all trans-

* The bull is published by Rousset, in his supplement to Du Mont, vol. iii. p. 1.

† Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 268.

actions since Charles VIII. had quitted the city of Naples; and the cardinals of Aragon and Colonna were to enjoy their ecclesiastical revenues arising from that kingdom. In the commencement of this contest, Federigo had sent his infant son Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, to Tarentum, under the care of the count of Potenza. The rest of the wretched family of Aragon were now assembled on the barren rock of Ischia. This family consisted of his queen Isabella, and a numerous train of children; his sister Beatrice, the widow of the great Mattia Corvino, king of Hungary; and his niece Isabella, the widow of Gian-Galeazzo, duke of Milan; who, already deprived of her sovereign rank, her husband, and her son, now saw the completion of her ruin in that of her royal relations.[146]

This deeply meditated act of treachery, to which Federigo had fallen a victim, whilst it excited in him the highest indignation against his perfidious relative, Ferdinand of Spain, inspired him with a disgust of the cares and the dangers of royalty, and induced him to seek for repose in a less enviable station. Having therefore obtained a passport from Louis XII., he left his family at Ischia, under the care of the marquis del Vasto, and proceeding directly to France, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the king, so far as to afford him the means of fulfilling his wishes. No longer regarding him as a rival, but as a suppliant, Louis acceded to his request, and an annual income of thirty thousand ducats, with the title of duke of Anjou, secured to him opulence and repose during the remainder of his days. Historians have accused him of pusillanimity in thus relinquishing, for an inferior title, his pretensions to a crown, which, in the dissensions that soon afterwards arose between the two successful monarchs, he might in all probability have recovered; but Federigo had sufficiently experienced the treachery and ingratitude of mankind; and, having in vain attempted to promote the happiness of others, he perhaps chose a wiser part in securing his own.

The regrets of the muses, whom he had so generously protected during his prosperity, followed him to his retreat.

* Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 268.

Sanazzaro, who accompanied him on his expedition into France, seems to consider the events that then took place to be, as indeed they afterwards proved, the final destruction of the Neapolitan branch of the house of Aragon.[147]

The last place in Naples that resisted the arms of the Spanish monarch was the city of Tarentum, whither the duke of Calabria had been sent by his father, as to a place of security. The command of the castle was intrusted to Leonardo Napolitano, a knight of Rhodes; but he, being reduced to extremities by Gonsalvo, agreed, with the consent of the count of Potenza, to surrender the city and fortress, if succour did not arrive in the space of four months; Gonsalvo binding himself by the solemnity of an oath, on the holy sacrament, that the duke of Calabria should be at liberty to proceed whithersoever he thought proper. On the surrender of Tarentum, the duke expressed his intention to follow his father into France; but Gonsalvo, disregarding his oath, sent him to Ferdinand of Spain, in which country he continued during the life of that monarch, in a sort of honourable captivity.[148]

If the descent of Louis XII. into Italy interrupted the progress of Cæsar Borgia in effecting the conquest of Romagna, the part which he had taken, in uniting his arms with those of the French on this occasion, enabled him to return to his former undertaking with a greater prospect of success. The first object towards which he directed his attention was the city of Piombino, then held in subjection by Jacopo d'Appiano. To the attack of this place he despatched two of his generals, Vitellozzo Vitelli and Gian-Paolo Baglione. Jacopo did not, however, wait their arrival; but, leaving a garrison in the place, precipitately fled into France, expecting by his representations to Louis XII. to prevail upon that monarch to prohibit the further progress of the papal arms. His endeavours were, however, ineffectual, and Piombino soon afterwards capitulated to the invaders. The territory of Urbino, consisting of four cities, and thirty fortified places, next attracted the ambitious views of the conqueror; but the duke Guidubaldo, instead of affording any pretext for hostilities against him, had frequently fought the battles of the church. His courage was indisputable;

and his amiable qualities and excellent endowments had secured the affections of his people. Despairing of effecting his purpose by an open attack, Cæsar, on this occasion, resorted to treachery. He marched at the head of a powerful army to Nocera, avowing his intention of attacking the state of Camerino. Thence he despatched an embassy to the duke of Urbino, requesting the assistance of his artillery and as many soldiers as he could furnish. His request was instantly complied with; but no sooner had Cæsar deprived the duke of the means of defence, than he turned his own arms against him; and possessing himself of Cagli, proceeded by rapid marches towards Urbino. Alarmed, not only for his dominions but for his life, Guidubaldo, with his nephew Francesco Maria della Rovere, hastily quitted the city in disguise, and, though vigilantly pursued, had the good fortune to escape to Mantua, where he met with his wife Isabella; who, after having accompanied Lucrezia Borgia to Ferrara, on the recent celebration of her nuptials with Alfonso d'Este, son of the duke, had passed to Mantua to visit the marquis her brother. Having thus obtained the duchy of Urbino, Cæsar attacked the states of Camerino; and having, under pretext of a treaty, gotten into his power Giulio da Varano, lord of that country, with two of his sons, he treacherously put them to death, and rendered himself master of their dominions.*

The success which attended Cæsar Borgia in all his undertakings had attracted to his standard many of the most eminent *condottieri*, or military adventurers of Italy. Among these were Vitellozzo Vitelli, lord of Città di Castello; Francesco Orsino, duke of Gravina; Pandolfo Petrucci, lord of Siena; Paolo Orsino, Gian-Paolo Baglioni, and Oliverotto da Fermo. By the assistance of these leaders, and the exertion of his own unrivalled talents in the art of dissimulation, he still continued to extend his conquests. Encouraged by the number of his adherents, and the favour of the king of France, he again turned his views towards the territories of Florence, which were suddenly assailed on all sides by his arms. The city of Cortona, the towns of

* Muratori, Annali d'Italia, vol. x. p. 9.

Anghieri and Borgo San-Sepolcro, and even the city of Arezzo, surrendered to the invaders. As the difficulties of the Florentines increased, the hopes of the Medici revived; and uniting their power with their relations and auxiliaries, the Orsini, they joined the forces of Borgia, whose rapid progress left no reason to doubt that the Florentines would soon be obliged to surrender up their city at the discretion of the conquerors. In this alarming emergency, the principal inhabitants met together, to deliberate on the most effectual measures for averting the dangers with which they were threatened; when Pietro Soderini had the good sense to point out the only expedient that could preserve them from ruin. After expatiating on the deplorable state of the republic, and the impracticability of obtaining assistance from any other quarter, he recommended that an embassy should be despatched to Louis XII. to request his interference on their behalf, in pursuance of a treaty lately formed between him and the Florentines.* He did yet more; he took upon himself the office of ambassador, and, hastening to the king, laid before him such cogent reasons for granting his aid to the republic, as induced that monarch to comply with his request.† Messengers were immediately despatched to the pope and his son, to admonish them against any further proceedings; and, lest these should be ineffectual, a considerable body of troops was directed to enter the Tuscan territories, not only to repel those in the service of Borgia, then under the command of Vitellozzo, but to obtain the restitution of the places which had submitted to his arms.‡ Measures so decisive, from a quarter so powerful, admitted of no opposition. Vitellozzo and the Florentine exiles reluctantly drew off their troops; Soderini was regarded as the saviour of the republic, and was soon afterwards honoured with a more extensive and durable authority than any citizen had before enjoyed, under the novel title of "Gonfaloniere for Life."

As the hopes of Cæsar Borgia were principally founded on the favour of Louis XII., he was greatly alarmed at this unexpected opposition to his projects; and hastening in per-

* The treaty is dated Nov. 19, 1501, at Blois. Lünig. vol. i. p. 1142.
† Ammirato, lib. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 267. Nardi, lib. iv. p. 81.
‡ Mach. Decen. lib. i. p. 65.

son to the king at Asti, he endeavoured to remove the unfavourable suspicions entertained respecting him, by representing the prompt obedience which he had paid to his orders, imputing the attempt upon Florence wholly to the animosity of Vitellozzo and the Orsini against that republic, and to the desire of the Medici to be again admitted as chiefs of the city. Satisfied by his protestations, and desirous of conciliating the favour of the pope, in the disputes which had already arisen respecting the partition of the kingdom of Naples, Louis not only received him into favour, but formed with him a treaty of alliance, by which the parties stipulated to afford to each other mutual assistance; and it was particularly agreed, that Cæsar should be furnished with a troop of French horse to enabled him to enforce his claims against the feudatories of of the Church.*

The event of this interview occasioned great alarm to many of the principal commanders, who were engaged in the service of Borgia, and who held the supreme authority in different cities of Italy. A diet was convoked in Perugia, at which the cardinal, and Paolo Orsini, the duke of Gravina, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Gian-Paolo Baglioni, Oliverotto da Fermo, and others, were present; when the conduct of Cæsar Borgia was fully discussed, and it was resolved, that decisive measures should be taken for restraining his further progress.† As the intelligence of this alliance became public, the different states which had before submitted to the dominion of Borgia began to oppose his authority; and in particular the inhabitants of Urbino, having seized upon the fortress of that place, disclaimed their dependence on him, and recalled their former prince. Deprived at once of the assistance of his principal commanders, who had suddenly avowed themselves his enemies, and of the greater part of his troops, Borgia retreated for safety to Imola, where his hopes were unexpectedly revived by an embassy from the Florentines; who, having been solicited to unite in the league against him, had not only rejected the proposal, but despatched to him their secretary, Nicolo Machiavelli, to assure him of their assistance against

* Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 283.

† Machiavelli, the constant apologist of Cæsar Borgia, has characterized the members of this diet, in his first "Decennale," lib. i. p. 66.

his revolted commanders. The joint efforts of these two accomplished proficients in mischief could not fail of producing some extraordinary result, and accordingly a plan was adopted for the destruction of their adversaries, to which, in the annals of treachery, it will be difficult to find a parallel. This transaction the Florentine historian has thought deserving of a particular narrative, in which he affects not to conceal the features of guilt under the slightest covering of decency.

From this narrative we learn, that the troops of Borgia, having been attacked by those of the Vitelli and Orsini, near Fossombrone, were put to the rout; in consequence of which, Borgia, perceiving no possibility of resisting his enemies by force, endeavoured to engage them in a negotiation. As he was a most accomplished dissembler, he represented to them, that the efforts which he had made in subjugating the different states of Romagna were intended no less for their interest than his own, and that, provided they would allow him the title of sovereign, the sovereignty itself should remain at their direction. These blandishments were not without their effect, and Paolo Orsino was deputed by his colleagues to carry on the treaty; but Cæsar, instead of relaxing in his preparations, continued, by every possible means, to increase the number of his adherents, distributing his new levies, both of horse and foot, in separate detachments throughout Romagna, so as to avoid all cause of suspicion. The arrival of five hundred horsemen from the king of France was a most seasonable reinforcement; but although he might now have contended with his adversaries in the field, he judged it more expedient to proceed in the execution of his plan, and to continue the negotiation already entered into. The terms of amity were at length agreed upon; in consequence of which, he received his former commanders again into his employ, and agreed to pay to each of them four thousand ducats in advance. He also engaged not to molest Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had joined in the league; nor to require the personal attendance of his new allies, in case it might not be agreeable to them. On their part, they promised to restore to him the duchy of Urbino, with all the other places which they had occupied; to serve

him in all his expeditions; and not to engage in any undertaking, or afford their assistance to any other power, without his assent.

On the conclusion of this league the duke of Urbino again deserted his capital, and took shelter at Venice, having first dismantled the fortresses within his states, to the end that they might not be garrisoned by his enemies, for the purpose of keeping in subjection a people ardently devoted to the cause of their sovereign.

This arrangement being completed, and his own troops, with his French auxiliaries, distributed throughout Romagna, Cæsar left Imola and proceeded to Cesena; where he met the envoys of his new allies, and deliberated with them towards what part of Italy they should next turn their arms. No decisive measures being concluded on, Oliverotto da Fermo was deputed by these depredators to propose to Borgia another attack upon the Tuscan states; or, if he should not approve of this project, to offer their concurrence in attacking the city of Sinigaglia, then held by Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew of the duke of Urbino. With the former of these proposals Borgia refused to comply, alleging, that the Florentines were his friends; but the attack on Sinigaglia met with his entire approbation. That place was accordingly soon invested and captured; but the fortress held out for some time, the commander being unwilling to surrender it to any one but to Borgia himself; for which reason his allies entreated that he would hasten to the place. This circumstance seemed to Cæsar to offer a favourable opportunity for executing his purpose, without giving rise to suspicion; his visit to Sinigaglia appearing to be at the request of his allies, and not from his own choice. Still further to avoid all cause of offence, he dismissed his French auxiliaries. Reserving only one hundred horse, under the command of one of his relations, and quitting Cesena about the end of December, he proceeded to Fano, where he employed all his artifice and sagacity to prevail upon the Vitelli and the Orsini to wait his arrival in Sinigaglia.

Vitellozzo, who had learnt from the fate of his brother the danger of confiding in those to whom he had once given cause of offence, was extremely averse to this interview; but,

being prevailed upon by Paolo Orsino, who had engaged more deeply in the interests of Borgia, he at length consented to wait his approach.

On the thirtieth of December, 1502, the day fixed upon for his departure from Fano, Cæsar communicated his project to eight of his principal adherents, in which number were Don Michele and Monsignor d'Euna, with instructions to this effect; that as soon as the meeting should take place betwixt himself and Vitellozzo, Paolo Orsino, the duke of Gravina, and Oliverotto, who would come out to meet and conduct him into the city, they should divide their number into pairs, and that each pair should single out his man, and take their stations respectively on each side of him, occupying his attention till they reached Sinigaglia, when they were not to quit them, till they had delivered them into safe custody at the apartments prepared for the duke. At the same time he ordered his whole force, which consisted of ten thousand foot and two thousand horse, to take their station at daybreak on the banks of the Metaurus, a river about five miles from Fano, where they should wait his further orders. All things being thus arranged, Borgia advanced with the whole force towards Sinigaglia, where Vitellozzo Vitelli, Paolo Orsino, and the duke of Gravina, mounted upon mules, and accompanied by a few horse, came forwards to meet him. Vitellozzo was unarmed, and appeared so deeply dejected, as to excite the surprise of those who were acquainted with his courage and past achievements. We are also told, that when he left his dependants to come to Sinigaglia for the purpose of meeting the duke, he took a kind of last farewell of them; recommending to his chief officers the fortunes of his house, and admonishing his nephews not to remember the calamities of their family, but the courage of their ancestors. Arriving in the presence of Borgia, they respectfully saluted him, and were received by him with apparent kindness, whilst the persons to whom the charge of them had been confided took the stations assigned to them. Borgia, perceiving that they were not accompanied by Oliverotto, who had remained with his troops at Sinigaglia, where he had drawn them up in the square, made a signal to Don Michele, to whom the care of Oliverotto had been committed, to take measures for prevent-

ing his escape. In consequence of which, that officer rode forwards, and coming up with Oliverotto, told him it was not a proper time to keep his men from their quarters, as they would, perhaps, be occupied by the soldiers of Borgia, and he therefore advised him to dismiss them, and to accompany him to meet the general. These directions having been complied with, Borgia arrived, and accosted Oliverotto, who approached and paid his respects to him. Proceeding thus to Sinigaglia, they dismounted at the lodgings of Borgia, and were led into a secret apartment, where the unsuspecting victims were all made prisoners.

Borgia immediately mounted his horse, and gave orders for disarming the troops of Oliverotto and the Orsini. Those of Oliverotto were all plundered; but those of the Orsini and Vitelli, being at a distance, and having received information of the ruin of their leaders, had time to collect themselves together, and in a firm body effected their escape, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies, and of the surrounding inhabitants. The soldiers of Borgia, not satisfied with the plunder of those of Oliverotto, began to sack the city; and, if he had not repressed their licentiousness, by putting many of them to death, they would have effected their purpose. Night approaching, and the tumult having subsided, he thought it expedient to despatch Vitellozzo and Oliverotto; and bringing them together into the same place, he caused them to be strangled.[149] On this occasion, neither of them, we are told, expressed themselves in a manner worthy of their past lives; for Vitellozzo entreated that the pope might be applied to for a plenary indulgence of his sins, and Oliverotto, weeping, attributed all his offences against Borgia to the influence of Vitellozzo. Paolo Orsino, and the duke of Gravina, were suffered to live until Cæsar received information that the pope had secured the persons of the cardinal Orsino, the archbishop of Florence, and Jacopo di Santa Croce, after which, on the eighteenth day of January, they were put to death by Borgia, in the same manner as their unfortunate associates.[150]

Such is the account given of this extraordinary transaction by the Florentine secretary; a transaction upon which he has forborne to make the slightest observation, either of

praise or blame, and which he seems to have considered merely as an instance of superior talents and successful policy.[151] Having thus freed himself from all apprehensions from his doubtful allies, Cæsar lost no time in proceeding to Città di Castello, of which place he took possession; the remainder of the family of Vitelli having betaken themselves to flight. He then entered Perugia, which had been in like manner abandoned by Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who had, however, the good fortune to escape from the snare laid for him at Sinigaglia. Siena was the next place towards which he bent his course; but whilst he was hovering round the city, and had already compelled Pandolfo Petrucci, who then enjoyed the chief authority, to quit the place, he received intelligence from the pope, that the duke of Bracciano, with others of the Orsini family, as well as the nobles of the Savelli, had again taken up arms. He was therefore obliged to quit Siena, and, hastening into the papal territories, again reduced them to obedience. This was the period of the highest power of Cæsar Borgia. In full possession of the extensive territory of Romagna, he regarded with eager avidity the domains of Pisa and of Siena; nor were the citizens of Florence without constant apprehensions from his increasing power; whilst the pope, equally earnest in the aggrandizement of his son, had proposed to the college of cardinals to bestow upon him the title of king of Romagna and Umbria.

But whilst every circumstance thus seemed to conspire in his favour, an unexpected reverse of fortune suddenly overturned the fabric of his greatness. This was the death of Alexander VI., which happened on the eighteenth day of August, 1503. And this misfortune was increased by the effects of a dangerous malady, under which Cæsar himself at the same time laboured, and which prevented him from taking those measures for securing his authority which he might otherwise have adopted. The historians of this period, eager to represent both Alexander and his son in the most odious colours, have asserted, that the death of the one, and the disorder of the other, were occasioned by poison, prepared by them for the destruction of several cardinals, of whose wealth they intended to possess themselves; but

which, by the error of an attendant, was incautiously administered to themselves. That the horrid and detestable practice of destroying persons by poison was frequently resorted to in these profligate times is certain; and that Alexander and his son had employed these measures for the gratification of their avarice, their ambition, or their revenge, is positively asserted by many historians; but it by no means accords with the acknowledged ability, caution, and penetration of these men, that they would risk their lives upon the negligence or fidelity of a servant, or place it in the power of accident to render them the victims of their own crime. If, therefore, the death of Alexander is to be attributed to poison, it was most probably administered to him by some of those numerous enemies whom his rapacity and violence had incited to this deed of revenge; but documents recently produced, and a more dispassionate inquiry, afford sufficient reason to conclude, that the death of the pontiff was not occasioned by poison, but was the effect of a fever, which in a few days hurried him to the grave.[152]

Were we to place implicit confidence in the Italian historians, no period of society has exhibited a character of darker deformity than that of Alexander VI. Inordinate in his ambition, insatiable in his avarice and his lust, inexorable in his cruelty, and boundless in his rapacity; almost every crime that can disgrace humanity is attributed to him without hesitation, by writers whose works are published under the sanction of the Roman church. He is also accused of having introduced into his territories the detestable practice of searching for state offences by means of secret informers; a system fatal to the liberty and happiness of every country that has submitted to such a degradation. As a pontiff he perverted his high office by making his spiritual power on every occasion subservient to his temporal interests; and he might have adopted as his emblem, that of the ancient Jupiter, which exhibits the lightning in the grasp of a ferocious eagle.[153] His vices as an individual, although not so injurious to the world, are represented as yet more disgusting; and the records of his court afford repeated instances of a depravity of morals, inexcusable in any station, but abominable in one of his high rank and sacred office. Yet with all these lament-

able defects, justice requires that two particulars in his favour should be noticed. In the first place, whatever have been his crimes, there can be no doubt but they have been highly overcharged. That he was devoted to the aggrandizement of his family, and that he employed the authority of his elevated station to establish a permanent dominion in Italy in the person of his son, cannot be doubted; but when almost all the sovereigns of Europe were attempting to gratify their ambition by means equally criminal, it seems unjust to brand the character of Alexander with any peculiar and extraordinary share of infamy in this respect. Whilst Louis of France and Ferdinand of Spain conspired together to seize upon and divide the kingdom of Naples, by an example of treachery that never can be sufficiently execrated, Alexander might surely think himself justified in suppressing the turbulent barons, who had for ages rent the dominions of the church with intestine wars, and in subjugating the petty sovereigns of Romagna, over whom he had an acknowledged supremacy, and who had in general acquired their dominions by means as unjustifiable as those which he adopted against them.[154] With respect to the accusation so generally believed, of a criminal intercourse between him and his own daughter, which has caused him to be regarded with a peculiar degree of horror and disgust, it might not be difficult to shew its improbability, and to invalidate an imputation which disgraces human nature itself.

In the second place it may justly be observed, that the vices of Alexander were accompanied, although not compensated, by many great qualities, which in the consideration of his character ought not to be passed over in silence.* Nor, if this were not the fact, would it be possible to account for the peculiar good fortune which attended him to the latest period of his life, or for the singular circumstance recorded of him, that during his whole pontificate no popular tumult ever endangered his authority, or disturbed his repose.† Even by his severest adversaries he is allowed to have been a man of an elevated genius, of a wonderful memory, eloquent, vigilant, and dexterous in the management of all

* Monaldeschi, Comm. Istor. p. 148.

† Raph. Volater. Anthropol. lib. xxii. p. 682.

his concerns. The proper supply of the city of Rome with all the necessaries of life was an object of his unceasing attention; and during his pontificate his dominions were exempt from that famine which devastated the rest of Italy. In his diet he was peculiarly temperate, and he accustomed himself to but little sleep. In those hours which he devoted to amusement, he seemed wholly to forget the affairs of state; but he never suffered those amusements to diminish the vigour of his faculties, which remained unimpaired to the last. Though not much devoted to the study of literature, Alexander was munificent towards its professors; to whom he not only granted liberal salaries, but, with a punctuality very uncommon among the princes of that period, he took care that those salaries were duly paid.[155] That he at some times attended the representations of the comedies of Plautus has been placed in the black catalogue of his defects; but if his mind had been more humanized by the cultivation of polite letters, he might, instead of being degraded almost below humanity, have stood high in the scale of positive excellence. To the encouragement of the arts he paid a more particular attention. The palace of the Vatican was enlarged by him, and many of the apartments were ornamented with the works of the most eminent painters of the time; among whom may be particularized Torrigiano, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Bernardino Pinturicchio. As an architect, his chief favourites were Giuliano and Antonio da San-Gallo; nor does his choice in this respect detract from his judgment. By their assistance the mole of Hadrian, now called the castle of S. Angelo, was fortified in the manner in which it yet remains. In one circumstance his encouragement of the arts is connected with a singular instance of profaneness, which it is surprising has not hitherto been enumerated among his many offences. In a picture painted for him by Pinturicchio, the beautiful Julia Farnese is represented in the sacred character of the Virgin, whilst Alexander himself appears in the same picture, as supreme pontiff, paying to her the tribute of his adoration.[156]

CHAPTER VII.

1503—1507.

Causes of dissension between the French and Spanish monarchs in the kingdom of Naples—Successes of the French army—Battle between thirteen French and thirteen Italian combatants—Gonsalvo defeats the French, and effects the conquest of Naples—Commotions in Rome——Cæsar Borgia quits the city—Election and short pontificate of Pius III.—The states of Romagna retain their fidelity to Cæsar Borgia—Election of Julius II.—He endeavours to deprive Borgia of his territories—Borgia betrayed by Gonsalvo and sent to Spain—His death and character—Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, mediates a peace between the French and Spanish monarchs—Defeat of the French on the Garigliano—Death of Piero de' Medici—Marriage of his daughter Clarice to Filippo Strozzi—Moderation and prudence of the cardinal de' Medici—Untimely death of Galeotto della Rovere—Difficulties and embarrassments of the cardinal de' Medici—Death of Ercole, duke of Ferrara, and accession of Alfonso I.—Tragical event in the family of Este—Final expulsion of the French from Naples—Julius II. seizes on the cities of Perugia and Bologna—Ferdinand of Spain visits his Neapolitan dominions—Gonsalvo honoured and neglected—He repents of his errors—Is vindicated by Paulo Giovio.

In the course of human events, it is not uncommon that rapacity and injustice find, in the very success of their measures, their own punishment. This was strikingly exemplified in the conquest and dismemberment of the kingdom of Naples, which, instead of affording to the victors the advantages they expected, opened the way to new contests, more bloody and destructive than any that Italy had of late experienced. In the partition of that country, it had been agreed that the king of France should possess the districts called Terra di Lavoro and Abruzzo, and the king of Spain those of Apulia and Calabria, as being most contiguous to his Sicilian dominions; but when the commanders of the allied armies began to adjust their respective boundaries, it appeared that their sovereigns had not been sufficiently acquainted

with the territories which they claimed, to define the limits in an explicit, or even an intelligible manner. The first difficulty that occurred was respecting the district called Basilicata, the ancient Lucania, which had not been allotted in express terms to either of the parties; the Spanish general, Gonsalvo, asserting, that as it actually separated the provinces which were expressly allotted to his master, it must be considered as a part of his dominions. The pretensions of the French general, Louis d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, rested on the general rights of his sovereign, as king of Naples, to all such parts as had not been particularly conceded by treaty. A similar dispute arose respecting the subdivision of Apulia, called the Capitanato, lying on the confines of Abruzzo, and divided from the rest of Apulia by the river Ofanto; the French general, like the Spanish, insisting on the indispensable utility of this district, to the other dominions of his sovereign, and on its being more properly a part of Abruzzo than of Apulia. The division of the revenues arising from the pasturage of Apulia, one of the chief sources of the royal income, formed another cause of dissension; and although the commanders had, during the first year, accommodated this dispute by an equal division of the income, yet in the next, each of them endeavoured to obtain as much of it as possible; thereby giving rise, not only to great vexation and dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of Apulia and the principal barons of the kingdom, but to acts of open hostility between the two armies.*

For the purpose of effecting a pacific adjustment of these differences, a negotiation was opened, by the intervention of the chief nobility of Naples, between the French and Spanish commanders, which was protracted for several months; in the course of which time, the duke of Nemours having repaired to Melfi, and Gonsalvo to Atella, those generals had a personal interview. It was, however, found impracticable to terminate the dispute, and they were therefore under the necessity of referring for its decision to their respective sovereigns; having in the mean time agreed, that neither of them should attempt any innovation on the territories possessed by

* Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 275. Giannone, lib. xxix. cap. iv. vol. iii. p. 400.

the other. This truce was not of long duration. The duke of Nemours, confident in the superiority of his forces, and unwilling by delay to allow the Spanish general to recruit his army, of which he had a much greater facility than the French, notified to Gonsalvo, that unless the district of the Capitanato was surrendered to him, he would commence hostilities. This threat he instantly carried into execution, by sending a detachment to occupy the city of Tripalda, and attempting to possess himself of all the strong places within the Capitanato. The arrival of a reinforcement to the French army of two thousand Swiss and a greater number of Gascons, was a sufficient indication that Louis XII. chose rather to decide the dispute by arms than by pacific measures. For the purpose of expediting further supplies, that monarch first repaired to Lyons, whence he soon afterwards hastened to Milan, in order to be nearer the theatre of action. These efforts were attended with signal success. The fortress of Canoza, although bravely defended by Pietro Navarro, with six hundred men, was compelled to surrender; and in a short time Gonsalvo was obliged to relinquish not only the Capitanato, but the chief part of the districts of Apulia and Calabria, and to retire for safety to the town of Barletta, near the mouth of the Ofanto, where he was closely besieged by the duke of Nemours. In the mean time, d'Aubigny, having sacked the city of Cosenza, and defeated a large body of Spanish and Sicilian troops, overran the rest of the kingdom; and Louis XII., disregarding all former treaties, again asserted his pretensions to the entire dominion of Naples.*

In this situation of affairs, a circumstance occurred which, by attracting the attention, suspended in some degree the operations of the hostile armies, and was probably not without its influence on the subsequent events of the war. Some negotiations having taken place between the French and Spanish commanders, for the exchange of their prisoners, Charles de Torgues, a French officer, visited the town of Barletta, where, being invited to supper in the house of Don Enrico di Mendoza, in company with Indico Lopez and Don Pietro

* Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 275. Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 11.

d'Origno, prior of Messina, a dispute arose respecting the comparative courage of the French and Italian soldiery, in the course of which de Torgues asserted that the Italians were an effeminate and dastardly people. Lopez replied, that he had himself under his command a troop of Italians, who were not only equal to the French, but on whose courage and fidelity he could as fully rely as if they were his own countrymen. In order to decide this controversy, it was agreed that a combat on horseback should take place between thirteen Frenchmen and thirteen Italians, on condition that the victors should be entitled to the arms and horses of the vanquished, and one hundred gold crowns each. This proposal met with the approbation of the respective commanders, who were probably not displeased with the opportunity afforded them of a short relaxation from the fatigues of war. Four judges were appointed on each side, to determine on the victory, and hostages were mutually given to abide by their decision.

On the day appointed, which was the thirteenth of February, 1503, the armies met as spectators of the combat, in a plain between the towns of Andre and Corrato, and the chief commanders pledged themselves to each other for the due observance of the stipulated terms. After the Italian combatants had attended the celebration of the mass, Gonsalvo encouraged them by an oration, the tenour of which has been preserved by one of his countrymen, in Spanish verse.* They then partook of a moderate collation, after which they proceeded to the field of battle, their horses, ready caparisoned, being led by thirteen captains of infantry. The combatants followed on horseback in complete armour, except their helmets, which, together with their lances, were carried by thirteen gentlemen. Being arrived within a mile of the field they were met by the four Italian judges, who informed them that they had been with the four judges appointed by the French, and had marked out the space for the combat. The Italians were the first in the field, when their leader, Hettore Fieramosca, availed himself of the opportunity of addressing his associates in a speech which the Neapolitan historian, Summonte, has also thought proper to

* Summonte, Storia di Napoli, lib. vi. vol. iii. p. 542 (corr. 609).

preserve. In a short time the French combatants made their appearance in great pomp and with numerous attendants. The adverse parties then quitting their horses and mounting the steeds prepared for them, arrayed themselves in order, and giving their coursers the reins, rushed against each other at full speed. A few lances were broken in the shock, without much injury to either party; but it was observed that the Italians remained firmly united, whilst the French seemed to be dispersed and in some disorder. The combatants then dismounting, attacked each other with swords and battle-axes, and a contest ensued in which both parties displayed great courage, strength, and dexterity, but the result of which was a complete victory to the Italians; the French being all either wounded or made prisoners.[157] The ransom of one hundred crowns not being found upon the persons of the vanquished, the conquerors, by the direction of the judges, retained their adversaries in custody, and carried them into the town of Barletta, where Gonsalvo, out of his own purse, generously paid their ransom, and restored them to liberty.[158] Amidst the defeats and humiliations which the Italians had experienced, it is not surprising that their historians have dwelt upon this incident with peculiar complacency, as tending to shew that, under equal circumstances, their countrymen were not inferior either in conduct or courage to their invaders. And although a French writer has endeavoured to invalidate some of the facts before related, it cannot be doubted that the Italians were justly entitled to the honour of the victory.

Unimportant as this event was in itself, it seems to have changed the fortune of the war, and to have led the way to the numerous defeats and disasters which the French soon afterwards experienced. Gonsalvo, quitting his intrenchments at Barletta, assaulted and captured the town of Rufo; taking prisoner the French commander, de Pelisse. About the same time d'Aubigny was attacked and defeated in Calabria by the Spanish general, Ugo da Cardona, and was himself severely wounded. A more decisive victory was soon afterwards obtained by the Spaniards in Apulia; nor did the duke of Nemours long survive his defeat. In consequence of these rapid successes, Gonsalvo found himself in

possession of the chief part of the kingdom. Distressed by continual tumults and exhausted by famine, the cities of Capua, Aversa, and even Naples, sent deputies to him to testify their obedience, and request his presence. On the fourteenth day of May, 1503, Gonsalvo, with his victorious army, entered the city of Naples, to the great joy of the inhabitants; against whom he vigilantly restrained his soldiery from committing the slightest outrage; and from this period the crown of Naples has been invariably united with that of Spain, under the government of the legitimate branch of the house of Aragon.

At the time of the death of Alexander VI., his son, Cæsar Borgia, was labouring under a severe disorder, occasioned, as has generally been believed, by that poison which he had prepared for others, but which had been inadvertently administered to himself. He was not, however, inactive at this critical period, against which he had endeavoured to provide by all the precautions in his power; nor was there any circumstance, other than his unexpected malady, to which his foresight had not suggested a remedy.* No sooner was he informed of the death of the pontiff, than he despatched his confidential adherent, Don Michele, with several attendants, to close the gates of the palace. One of these partisans meeting with the cardinal Casanuova, threatened to strangle him and throw him through the windows, if he did not instantly deliver up to him the keys of the pope's treasure. The cardinal did not long hesitate, and the friends of Borgia, hastening into the interior chambers, seized upon and carried away all the money contained in two chests, amounting to about ten thousand ducats.† It is observable, that during the whole time of the indisposition of the pope, he was never once visited by Cæsar Borgia, nor is it less remarkable, that in his last sickness he displayed no particular marks of attachment either to his son or to his daughter, Lucretia. Although Borgia had at this time a considerable body of soldiers in Rome, he conducted himself with great humility towards the sacred college, and expressed his willingness to give assurance of his fidelity by his oath whenever required. A treaty was accord-

* Mach. lib. del Principe. cap. vii. p. 18.

† Burchard, Diar. ap. Concl. de' Pontef. Romani, vol. i. p. 137.

ingly concluded, by which Borgia undertook to defend the college, collectively and individually, and to protect the nobility and citizens of Rome, for which purpose he was confirmed in his office as captain of the church. No sooner, however, were the death of the pope and the infirmity of Borgia publicly announced, than many of the great barons of the Roman states, whom they had deprived of their territories, took up arms to revenge their injuries, and repossess themselves of their rights. It was to no purpose that Cæsar employed all his arts to mitigate their resentment, and gain over to his interest the nobles of the Colonna family, whom he had not outraged with the same cruel policy that he had exercised towards the Orsini. An aversion to their common enemy united the adverse chiefs of these two houses, and Borgia with his followers was attacked by their combined forces in the streets of Rome.* In these commotions upwards of two hundred houses were sacked by the troops of the Orsini, among which was that of the cardinal Cusa. Although courageously defended by his soldiery, and assisted by a few French troops, Borgia was compelled to give way to the violence of the attack, and to take shelter, with his brother, the prince of Squillace, and several of the cardinals who adhered to his interests, in the Vatican. A new negotiation now took place, by which it was at length agreed that the sacred college should assure to Borgia a free and uninterrupted passage through the ecclesiastical states, for himself and his followers, with their necessary provisions, ammunition, and artillery; and should also write to the Venetian senate, to request that he might without interruption retain the possession of his territories in Romagna. On these conditions he promised to depart peaceably from Rome within three days. The leaders of the Colonna and Orsini also engaged to quit the city, and not to approach within ten miles, during the vacancy of the holy see. A proclamation was then made, that no person, of whatever rank or condition, should molest Borgia or his followers on their departure; in consequence of which he quitted the city on the second day of August, and directed his course towards Naples.†

* Guicciard. lib. vi. p. 320.
† Burchard, vol. i. p. 145.

On receiving information of the vacancy of the holy see, George of Amboise, cardinal of Rouen, had hastened to Rome; not without hopes of obtaining the pontifical authority. He brought with him, as supporters of his pretensions, the cardinals of Aragon and Ascanio Sforza; the latter of whom had been imprisoned by Louis XII. at the same time with his brother Lodovico, but had shortly before this period been restored to liberty. The recent disasters of the French in Naples were not, however, favourable to the views of the cardinal of Rouen; and on the twenty-second day of September, 1503, the conclave concurred in electing to the supreme dignity Francesco Piccolomini, cardinal of Siena, the nephew of Pius II., and who assumed the name of Pius III. The acknowledged probity, talents, and pacific disposition of this pontiff, gave great reason to hope that his influence and exertions might have a powerful effect in correcting the scandalous disorders of the church, and repressing the dissensions to which Italy had so long been subject. The first measure of this pontificate, which was to call a general council for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, tended to confirm these hopes; but they were suddenly extinguished by the death of the pontiff, after he had enjoyed the supreme dignity only twenty-six days. This event was, according to the fashion of the times, attributed to poison; but it was more probably occasioned by the effects of an abscess in the thigh, with which the pontiff was known to have long laboured, and which was, perhaps, not the least efficient argument for inducing the conclave to raise him to the pontificate.

A few days after the election of Pius III. Cæsar Borgia returned to Rome, when the contests between him and the Roman barons were renewed with greater violence than before. Many of his adherents lost their lives, and the *Porta del Torrione* was burnt by the troops of the Orsini. Finding himself in imminent danger, he retreated, with the consent of the pope, to the castle of S. Angelo, accompanied by a few menial attendants, and by six of the cardinals who still adhered to his cause.* In the mean time, many of the lords whom Borgia had dispossessed returned to their dominions.

* Sanazzaro, invariably hostile to the family of Borgia, has commemorated this event, Epigr. lib. i. ep. 14.

The Baglioni again occupied Perugia, the Vitelli entered the city of Castello, the duke of Urbino returned to his capital,[159] and the lords of Pesaro, Camerino, Piombino, and Sinigaglia, were restored to their authority as suddenly as they had been deprived of it. Several of the cities of Romagna retained, however, their fidelity to their new sovereign, having found by experience the superior advantages derived from their union under his government, compared to that of their former princes, whose power, though sufficient to oppress, was inadequate to defend them. To this decisive partiality in favour of Cæsar Borgia they were also incited by the attention which he had paid to the strict administration of justice, which had freed them from the hordes of banditti by whom they had been infested, and suppressed the feuds and assassinations to which they had before been subject.* Hence neither the defection of other places, nor even their apprehensions of the Venetians, who were already preparing to take advantage of their unprotected situation, could induce those cities to waver in their fidelity, or to listen to proposals from any other quarter.

On the death of Pius III. the cardinal de' Medici and two of his brethren were appointed by the college to receive the oath of fidelity from Monsignor Marco, bishop of Sinigaglia, keeper of the castle of S. Angelo. The loss of the pontiff was an additional misfortune to Borgia, as it opened the way for the assumption to the pontificate of Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincula, the ancient and most determined enemy of his family. Of the dissensions of this prelate with Alexander VI. various instances are related; but amidst the many opprobrious epithets which they were accustomed to bestow on each other, Alexander had the magnanimity to acknowledge that his opponent was a man of veracity. Such a concession from such a quarter raised the credit of the cardinal more than all the animosity of the pope could depress it, and Giuliano, well aware that no one can deceive so effectually as he who has once acquired a reputation for sincerity, is said to have availed himself of this circumstance to secure his election, which, if we may believe Guic-

* Guicciard. lib. vi. vol. i. p. 316.

ciardini, was not effected without some sacrifice of his former good character. On this occasion the cardinal affected to lay aside his enmity to Cæsar Borgia, and a treaty was concluded between them, by which the cardinal engaged, that if he should, by the assistance of Borgia, be raised to the pontificate, he would confer upon him the dignity of *Gonfaloniere*, or general of the church, and confirm his authority in the states of Romagna. This project was successful; Giuliano attained his wishes; but no sooner had he ascended the papal throne than he gave sufficient indications of his former animosity; and Borgia was too late aware of an error which was the occasion of his ruin, and which is enumerated by Machiavelli as one of the few mistakes of his political life.

Notwithstanding the hostile and treacherous conduct of Cæsar Borgia towards Guidubaldo di Montifeltro, duke of Urbino, it appears that during the dissensions that ensued, the duke not only became reconciled to Borgia, but was the means, by his intercession with the new pontiff, of saving his life. In the Life of the Duke, by Bernardino Baldi, preserved in the library of the Marquis Antaldi, at Pesaro, and unknown both to Mazzuchelli and Affò, is a dialogue between the duke and Cæsar Borgia, which has been published by Count Giulio Perticari, and afterwards by Count Bossi, in the Italian edition of the present work; the latter of whom has justly observed, that "it would be difficult to find elsewhere a more striking representation of the character of Cæsar Borgia than this dialogue affords."

On assuming his high office the new pontiff adopted the name of Julius II., and soon proved himself to be one of the most active, warlike, and politic sovereigns that had ever sat in the chair of St. Peter.[160] The Venetians, proceeding from Ravenna, which they before possessed, had already made an irruption into Romagna, and not only subjugated the city and fortress of Faenza, but gave evident demonstrations of their designs upon the other cities of that district. These measures occasioned no small anxiety to the pope, who had proposed to himself the preservation and extension of the territories of the church as the great object of his pontificate. An embassy from him to the Venetian senate, entreating them to

desist from their pretensions, was of no avail; but as several of the cities of Romagna still retained their allegiance to Borgia, the pontiff thought it expedient to make use of him as the most effectual instrument for preventing the total separation of these states from the Roman see. He therefore seized upon the person of Borgia, who had proceeded to the port of Ostia, intending to embark for France, and required, that before his liberation he should consign to him the possession of the different fortresses in the district of Romagna.

This Borgia at first refused; but, being detained for some days as a prisoner, he at length complied, and gave the necessary countersigns for surrendering up the fortresses. The archbishop of Ragusa was immediately despatched to obtain possession; but the commanders, still attached to their leader, refused to deliver them up under any orders obtained from him whilst under restraint. On this spirited measure Borgia was again restored to liberty, highly caressed by the pope, and provided with apartments in the Vatican. His orders to deliver up the fortresses of Romagna were again repeated; and as a proof of his sincerity he despatched one of his confidential adherents, Pietro d'Oviedo, with directions to the different commanders to the same purpose. This second attempt was equally ineffectual with the former. No sooner did Oviedo, accompanied by Moschiavellar, the pope's chamberlain, arrive at the castle of Cesena, then commanded by Don Diego Ramiro, than that officer caused him to be seized upon and instantly hanged as a traitor to his sovereign. When the information of this event arrived at Rome, Cæsar was again deprived of his liberty, and sent to occupy a remote apartment in the Torre Borgia.*

In this situation a new negotiation commenced between Borgia and the pontiff, in the result of which it was agreed that Borgia should be committed to the charge of Bernardino Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, and conveyed to Ostia, where he should be liberated as soon as information was received that his governors in Romagna had delivered up their trust. Several of the commanders now obeyed the directions of their prince, and the cardinal thereupon gave

* Burchard, vol. i. p. 163.

him permission to proceed to France, which he had pretended was his intention. He had, however, already obtained a passport from the Spanish general Gonsalvo, who had despatched two galleys to Ostia to convey him with his attendants to Naples.* He accordingly embarked for that place, and was received by Gonsalvo with every demonstration of kindness and respect. The hopes of Borgia now began once more to revive. The commander of the fortress of Forli still held the place in his name. Gonsalvo promised him a supply of galleys, and gave him liberty to engage soldiers within the kingdom of Naples, for an attempt on the city of Pisa, or the Tuscan territories. Bartolommeo d'Alviano, then at Naples, earnestly desirous of restoring the Medici to Florence, offered himself as an associate in his undertaking. But whilst Gonsalvo was thus flattering his ambitious projects, he had secretly despatched a messenger into Spain, to request directions from Ferdinand in what manner he should dispose of the dangerous person, who had thus confided in his protection. The activity and credit of Borgia had raised a considerable armament; the galleys were prepared for sea, and on the evening previous to the day fixed upon for their departure he had an interview with Gonsalvo, in the course of which he received from the Spaniard the warmest expressions of attachment, and was dismissed with an affectionate embrace. No sooner, however, had he quitted the chamber, than he was seized upon by the orders of Gonsalvo, who alleged that he had received directions from his sovereign which superseded the effect of his own passport.[161] Being committed to the charge of his ancient adversary, Prospero Colonna, he was soon afterwards put on board a galley, and conveyed to Spain. The conduct of Colonna on this occasion is highly honourable to his feelings; for in the execution of his commission he was so far from insulting his captive, that he is said to have avoided even fixing his eyes upon him during the whole voyage, lest he should appear to exult over a fallen enemy.[162]

On the arrival of Borgia in Spain he was confined a close prisoner in the castle of Medina del Campo, where he

* Guicciard. lib. vi. p. 339.

remained for the space of two years. Having at length effected his escape, he fled to his brother-in-law, John d'Albert, king of Navarre, in whose service he remained for several years in high military command, and at length fell by a shot in an action under the walls of Viana. From that place his body was conveyed to Pampeluna, and deposited in the cathedral, of which he had once been prelate.[183]

Of this extraordinary character it may with truth be observed, that his activity, courage, and perseverance were equal to the greatest attempts. In the pursuit of his object he overlooked or overleaped all other considerations; when force was ineffectual he resorted to fraud; and whether he thundered in open hostility at the gates of a city, or endeavoured to effect his purpose by negotiation and treachery, he was equally irresistible. If we may confide in the narrative of Guicciardini, cruelty, rapine, injustice, and lust, are only particular features in the composition of this monster; yet it is difficult to conceive that a man so totally unredeemed by a single virtue should have been enabled to maintain himself at the head of a powerful army; to engage in so eminent a degree the favour of the people conquered; to form alliances with the first sovereigns of Europe; to destroy or overturn the most powerful families of Italy, and to lay the foundations of a dominion, of which it is acknowledged that the short duration is to be attributed rather to his ill-fortune, and the treachery of others, than either to his errors or his crimes. If, however, he has been too indiscriminately condemned by one historian, he has in another met with as zealous and as powerful an encomiast, and the maxims of the politician are only the faithful record of the transactions of his hero. On the principles of Machiavelli, Borgia was the greatest man of the age.* Nor was he, in fact, without qualities which in some degree compensated for his demerits. Courageous, munificent, eloquent, and accomplished in all the exercises of arts and arms, he raised an admiration of his endowments which kept pace with and counterbalanced the abhorrence excited by his crimes. That even these crimes have been

* Mach. lib. del Principe, cap. viii. p. 15.

exaggerated is highly probable.[164] His enemies were numerous, and the certainty of his guilt in some instances gave credibility to every imputation that could be devised against him. That he retained, even after he had survived his prosperity, no inconsiderable share of public estimation, is evident from the fidelity and attachment shewn to him on many occasions. After his death, his memory and achievements were celebrated by one of the most elegant Latin poets that Italy has produced. The language of poetry is not, indeed, always that of truth; but we may at least give credit to the account of the personal accomplishments and warlike talents of Borgia, although we may indignantly reject the spurious praise, which places him among the heroes of antiquity, and at the summit of fame.[165]

On receiving intelligence of the defeat of his generals, and the loss of his lately-acquired dominions in the kingdom of Naples, Louis XII. was greatly mortified, and immediately began to take measures for repairing those disasters which his earlier vigilance might have prevented. Not satisfied with despatching a powerful reinforcement through the papal states into the kingdom of Naples, under the command of the duke de la Tremouille, he determined to attack his adversary in his Spanish dominions. For this purpose large bodies of French troops entered the provinces of Roussillon and Fontarabia, whilst a powerful fleet was directed to infest the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia. These great preparations were not, however, followed by the expected consequences. An attempt upon the fortress of Paolo, near the city of Narbonne, was frustrated by the courage of the Spanish garrison; and whilst the ardour of the French was checked by this unexpected opposition, Ferdinand himself took the field, and at the head of his army, compelled his adversaries to retire within the limits of the French territory, where he had the moderation not to pursue his advantages. Nor were the achievements of the French fleet of greater importance; the commanders having, after many fruitless attempts upon the Spanish coast, been obliged to take refuge in Marseilles. At this period an event occurred which exhibits the conduct of the contending monarchs in a singular point of view. A negotiation was entered into between them for the restoration of

peace, and the mediator to whom they agreed to appeal for the reconciliation of their differences was Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, the partition of whose dominions had given rise to the war. In the course of these discussions, Federigo was alternately flattered by both parties, with the hopes of being restored to his crown; and so far had he obtained the favour of Anne of Bretagne, the queen of Louis XII., that she earnestly entreated the king to concur in this measure. It is not, however, to be supposed, that it was the intention of either of the contending monarchs to perform such an act of disinterested justice; on the contrary, the pretext of appealing to the decision of Federigo was probably only employed by each of them, for the purpose of obtaining from the other more advantageous terms.

The duke de la Tremouille having united his troops with those of his countrymen at Gaeta, and being reinforced by the marquis of Mantua, who had now entered into the service of the French, possessed himself of the duchy of Trajetto and the district of Fondi, as far as the river Garigliano. He was, however, soon opposed by Gonsalvo, who had been joined by Bartolommeo d'Alviano, at the head of a considerable body of troops. The French, disadvantageously posted on the marshy banks of the river, had thrown a bridge over it, intending to proceed by the speediest route to Naples; but Gonsalvo, having arrived at S. Germano, was induced by the remonstrances of d'Alviano to attack them before they could effect their passage. On the night of the twenty-eighth day of December, 1503,* the Spaniards formed another bridge at Suio, about four miles above the French camp, over which Gonsalvo secretly passed with a considerable part of his army. On the following morning the French were suddenly attacked by d'Alviano, who carried the bridge which they had erected, and when the engagement became general, Gonsalvo, taking the French in the rear, routed them with an immense slaughter, and pursued them as far as Gaeta, which place he soon afterwards reduced.†

This day terminated the unfortunate life of Piero de' Medici, who had engaged in the service of the French, and taken a

* Murat. vol. x. p. 25.

† The victory of Gonsalvo is celebrated in a Latin ode by Crinitus.

principal part in the action; but finding all hopes of assistance frustrated, and being desirous of rendering his friends all the services in his power, he embarked on board a galley with several other persons of rank, intending to convey to Gaeta four heavy pieces of artillery, which he had prevented from falling into the hands of the conquerors. The weight of these pieces, and probably the number of passengers who endeavoured to avail themselves of this opportunity to effect their escape, occasioned the vessel to founder; and it was not until several days afterwards that the body of Piero was recovered from the stream.[166] He left by his wife Alfonsina Orsino, a son, Lorenzo, who was born on the thirteenth day of September, 1492, and will frequently occur to our future notice; and a daughter named Clarice. In his days of gaiety, and amidst the delights of Florence, Piero had assumed a device intended to characterize his temper and pursuits, to which Politiano had supplied him with an appropriate motto.[167] His misfortunes or his misconduct soon provided him with more serious occupations; and ten years of exile and disappointment consumed the vigour of a life which had opened with the most favourable prospects. In the year 1552, Cosmo I., grand-duke of Tuscany, erected to the memory of his kinsman a splendid monument at Monte Cassino, with an inscription commemorating, not indeed his virtues, nor his talents, but his high family connections and his untimely death.[168]

The death of Piero de' Medici seems to have been the period from which the fortunes of his house once more began to revive; nor is it difficult to discover the reasons of so favourable a change. The aversion and indignation of the Florentines were directed against the individual rather than against the family; and soon after the death of Piero, his widow Alfonsina was allowed to return to Florence and claim her rights of dower from the property of her husband. Of this opportunity she diligently availed herself to dispose the minds of the citizens to favour the cause of the Medici; and in order more effectually to promote the interests of her family, she negotiated a marriage between her daughter Clarice and Filippo Strozzi, a young nobleman of great wealth and extraordinary accomplishments. This marriage was celebrated

shortly after the return of Alfonsina to Rome; but no sooner was it known to the magistrates of Florence, than they cited Filippo to appear before them, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of his friends, condemned him to pay five hundred gold crowns, and banished him for three years into the kingdom of Naples. At the same time Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, was declared a rebel to the state. These proceedings did not, however, prevent Clarice from paying frequent visits to Florence, where she maintained a strict intercourse with the Salviati, the Rucellai, and other families connected by the ties of relationship or friendship with the house of Medici; and although Filippo Strozzi returned before the expiration of the term prescribed, and took up his residence with his wife in Florence, yet no measures were adopted either to punish him or to remand him into banishment; a circumstance which the friends of the Medici did not fail to notice as a striking indication of the strength of their cause.*

The inconsiderate conduct, the ambitious views, and the impetuous and arrogant disposition of Piero de' Medici, had been always strongly contrasted by the mild and placable temper of the cardinal; who, although he on all occasions adhered to his brother as the chief of his family, had always endeavoured to sooth the violence of those passions and to moderate those aspiring pretensions, which, after having occasioned his expulsion from Florence, still continued to operate, and effectually precluded his return. During the latter part of the pontificate of Alexander VI., the cardinal de Medici had fixed his residence at Rome; where, devoted to a private life, he had the address and good-fortune, if not to obtain the favour of that profligate pontiff, at least to escape his resentment. The election of Julius II. to the pontificate opened to him the prospect of brighter days. It is true, Julius was the nephew of Sixtus IV., the inveterate enemy of the Medicean name; but these ancient antipathies had long been converted into attachment and esteem. Under the favour of this pontiff the cardinal had an opportunity of indulging his natural disposition to the cultivation of polite

* Commentarii di Nerli, lib. v. p. 100, &c.

letters and the promotion of works of art. His books, though not numerous, were well chosen, and his domestic hours were generally spent in the society of such dignified and learned ecclesiastics, as could at times condescend to lay aside the severity of their order to discuss the characteristics of generous actions, the obligations of benevolence and affection, the comparative excellences of the fine arts, or the nature and essence of human happiness. On these subjects the cardinal never failed to distinguish himself by his urbanity, his acuteness, and his eloquence. In deciding upon the productions of architecture, of painting, and of sculpture, his taste seemed to be hereditary, and he was resorted to by artists in every department as to an infallible judge. With music he was theoretically and practically conversant, and his house more frequently re-echoed with the sprightly harmony of concerts than with the solemn sounds of devotion. Debarred by his profession from the exercises of the camp, he addicted himself with uncommon ardour to the chase, as the best means of preserving his health and preventing that corpulency to which he was naturally inclined. This amusement he partook of in common with a numerous band of noble associates, of whom he was considered as the leader; nor did he desist from this exercise even after his attainment to the supreme ecclesiastical dignity.

The good understanding which subsisted between Julius II. and the cardinal de' Medici was further strengthened by means of Galeotto della Rovere, the nephew of the pope, with whom the cardinal had contracted a strict friendship. This young man was not less the object of the admiration of the court and people of Rome, than he was the favourite of his uncle. Engaging in his manners, elegant in his person, liberal and magnificent in all his conduct, he well merited the high honours bestowed upon him by the pope, who immediately on his elevation transferred to his nephew the cardinal's hat which he had himself worn, and on the death of Ascanio Sforza nominated him vice-chancellor of the holy see.* Such was the effect produced by the conciliatory manners of the cardinal de' Medici on his young friend, who,

* Jovius, in Vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 29. Bemb. Op. vol. iii. p. 6, &c.

from the advanced age of his uncle, did not conceive that he would long enjoy the pontificate, that Galeotto is said to have promised the cardinal, who had not yet attained his thirtieth year, that he should succeed to that high dignity; alleging that it was an office more proper for a man in the prime and vigour of life, than for one already exhausted by labour and declining into years. Galeotto himself did not, however, survive to witness the completion of his promise; for whilst Julius maintained his own dignity and enforced the claims of the church, during an interval of ten years, with an unexampled degree of activity and perseverance, Galeotto fell, in the prime of youth, a sacrifice to the effects of a violent fever which in a few days consigned him to the grave. The sumptuous parade of his funeral afforded no consolation for his loss to the cardinal de' Medici, who had assiduously attended him in his last moments, and performed towards him all the duties of religion and affection. Deprived of his friend in the ardour of youth, whilst the happiness of the present was increased by the prospect of the future, he long remained inconsolable, and when time had softened his sorrow, the name of Galeotto was never adverted to, even in his most cheerful moments, without exciting the symptoms of affectionate remembrance.

In the measures adopted by the cardinal for effecting his restoration to his native place, he was now no longer in danger of being counteracted by the ill-timed efforts and impetuosity of his brother. Although this was the constant object of his solicitude, and he was now considered as the chief of his family, he shewed no disposition to interfere in the concerns or to disturb the repose of the Florentines, who, under the dictatorship of Pietro Soderini, continued to labour with the difficulties of their government and the obstinacy of their rebellious subjects, and to maintain at least the name of a republic. It was not, however, without frequent opposition and mortification that Soderini exercised his authority. Many of the citizens of the first rank, still attached to the cause of the Medici, continued to harass him in all his designs, and to oppose all his measures; but the industry, patience, and perseverance of the *gonfaloniere* gradually blunted their resentment and weakened their efforts, whilst

the various unsuccessful attempts of Piero de' Medici to regain the city of Florence by force had increased the aversion of his countrymen and placed an insuperable bar to his return. In these expeditions the resources of the family were exhausted, insomuch that the cardinal found no small difficulty in supporting the dignity of his rank, to which his ecclesiastical revenues were inadequate. He struggled with these humiliating circumstances to the utmost of his power; but the liberality of his disposition too often exceeded the extent of his finances, and a splendid entertainment was at times deranged by the want of some essential, but unattainable article. Even the silver utensils of his table were occasionally pledged for the purpose of procuring that feast, of which they ought to have been the chief ornaments. That these circumstances occasioned him considerable anxiety cannot be doubted; for whilst on the one hand he was unwilling to detract from that character of liberality and munificence which was suitable to his rank, and to the high expectations which he still continued to entertain; on the other hand, he dreaded the disgrace of being wanting in the strict discharge of his pecuniary engagements. He carefully, however, avoided giving, even in the lowest ebb of his fortunes, the slightest indications of despondency. His temper was cheerful, his conversation animated, and his appearance and manners betrayed not the least symptom of his domestic embarrassments, for the relief of which he seemed to depend upon a timely and providential supply.[169] Nor was he in general disappointed in his hopes; for the same good fortune which prepared the way to his highest honours attended him in his greatest difficulties, and enabled him to extricate himself from them with admirable dexterity and irreproachable honour. To the remonstrances of his more prudent friends, who were fearful that his liberality would at length involve him in actual distress, he was accustomed to reply, as if with a presage of his future destiny, that great men were the work of providence, and that nothing could be wanting to them if they were not wanting to themselves.*

In the early part of the year 1505, died Ercole of Este,

* Jovius, in Vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 31.

duke of Ferrara,[170] after having governed his states with great credit, both in war and in peace, during thirty-four years, of which the latter part had been devoted to the embellishing and enlarging of his capital, the promotion of the happiness of his subjects, and to the protection and encouragement of the sciences and arts.[171] His great qualities and heroic actions are celebrated by the pen of Ariosto; who asserts, however, that the advantages which his people derived from them were inferior to the blessings which he conferred on them, in leaving two such sons as Alfonso and Ippolito. In the preceding year his eldest son Alfonso had visited the courts of France and Spain, but at the time when he received intelligence of the dangerous malady of his father he was in England, whence he hastened to Ferrara, and his father dying before his arrival he peaceably assumed the government.* As the state of Ferrara at this time enjoyed perfect tranquillity, the duke turned his attention to the mechanic arts, in which he became not only a skilful judge, but a practical proficient. His mind was, however, too comprehensive to suffer him to waste his talents on objects of mere amusement. After having excelled the best artificers of his time, he began to devote himself to the improvement of artillery. Under his directions cannon were cast of a larger size and better construction than had before been seen in Italy.† Of the use which he made of these formidable implements repeated instances will occur; nor is it improbable that to these fortunate preparations he owed the preservation of his dominions, amidst the dangerous contests in which he was soon afterwards compelled to take an important part.

The commencement of the reign of Alfonso I. was marked by a most tragical event, which endangered his safety, and destroyed or interrupted his domestic tranquillity. Besides his two sons before mentioned, of whom Ippolito, the younger, had been raised to the dignity of a cardinal, the late duke had left by his wife Leonora, daughter of Ferdinand I. of Naples, a son named Ferdinand, and by a favourite mistress an illegitimate son called Don Giulio. Attracted by the beauty of

* Jovius, in Vita Alfonsi. Murat. An. vol. x, p. 29.
† Sardi. lib. xi. p. 204.

a lady of Ferrara, to whom they were distantly related, the cardinal and Don Giulio became rivals in her affections; but the latter had obtained the preference, and the lady herself, in confessing to Ippolito her partiality to his brother, dwelt with apparent pleasure on the extraordinary beauty of his eyes. The exasperated ecclesiastic silently vowed revenge, and availing himself of an opportunity, whilst he was engaged with Don Giulio in the chase, he surrounded him with a band of assassins, and, compelling him to dismount, with a diabolical pleasure saw them deprive him of the organs of sight.[172] The moderation or negligence of Alfonso, in suffering this atrocious deed to remain unpunished, excited the resentment not only of Don Giulio, but of his brother Ferdinand, who, uniting together, endeavoured by secret treachery to deprive Alfonso at once of his honours and his life. Their purposes were discovered, and after having confessed their crime they were both condemned to die. The fraternal kindness of Alfonso was not, however, wholly extinguished, and at the moment when the axe was suspended over them, he transmuted their punishment to that of perpetual imprisonment. In this state Ferdinand remained until the time of his death in 1540, whilst Giulio, at the expiration of fifty-four years of captivity, was once more restored to liberty. These events, which throw a gloom over the family lustre of the House of Este, and mark the character of the cardinal with an indelible stain, are distinctly, though delicately, adverted to in the celebrated poem of Ariosto.*

After a series of calamities of more than ten years' continuance, during which there was scarcely any part of Italy that had not severely suffered from the effects of pestilence, of famine, and of war, some indications appeared of happier times. The pretensions of Louis XII. to the kingdom of Naples had received an effectual check by the defeat of his troops on the Garigliano, and although the remains of his army had effected a retreat to Gaeta, yet all that now remained for them was to obtain a capitulation on such terms as should secure to them their liberty and their arms. These terms were readily conceded by Gonsalvo, who permitted his

* Orl. Fur. cant. iii. st. 60, &c.

humiliated adversaries to march out from Gaeta with military honours, and to carry off their effects, on condition that they should return to France, either by land or sea, of which he offered them the choice and furnished them with the opportunity. Both these courses were adopted, and in both the French soldiery were equally unfortunate. Those who embarked at Gaeta and Naples perished for the most part by hurricanes, either in the passage or on their native coasts; whilst those who attempted to return by land fell a sacrifice to sickness, cold, hunger, and fatigue, insomuch that the roads were strewed with their dead bodies. This capitulation was speedily followed by a treaty between the contending monarchs, by which it was agreed that Ferdinand, who had survived his queen Isabella, and who, on account of his dissensions with his son-in-law the archduke Philip, was earnestly desirous of male offspring, should marry the young and beautiful Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII., who should bring with her as her dower all such parts of the kingdom of Naples as had been allotted to the French monarch; and in return for these favours, Ferdinand engaged to pay to Louis XII. one million of gold ducats, by annual payments of one hundred thousand ducats, as an indemnity for his expenses in the Neapolitan war.[173] With these favourable indications of returning tranquillity other circumstances concurred. The power of the Borgia family had been suddenly annihilated by the death of Alexander VI. and by the consequent imprisonment and exile of Cæsar Borgia; whilst the death of Piero de' Medici seemed to promise repose to the agitated republic of Florence. Many of the principal Italian leaders, or *condottieri*, had perished in these contests, others had been stript of their possessions, and so far reduced as to be no longer able to follow the trade of blood; whilst the people, wearied and exhausted by a continual change of masters, by unavailing carnage, by incessant alarms, exorbitant exactions, and by all the consequences of prolonged hostilities, sighed for that peace which they ought to have commanded, and which alone could remedy those evils of which they had so long been the victims.

But whilst every thing seemed to conspire in securing the public tranquillity, the happy effects of which had already

begun to be experienced, the supreme pontiff was revolving in his mind how he might possess himself of the smaller independent states in the vicinity of the Roman territories, and complete the great work which Alexander VI. had so vigorously begun. He had already announced in the consistory, his determination to free the domains of the church from tyrants; alluding, as it was well understood, to the cities of Perugia and Bologna, the former of which was held by the Baglioni, and the latter by the Bentivogli. Nor was he slow in carrying his threats into execution. Having preconcerted his measures with the king of France, who still retained the government of Milan, he placed himself at the head of his army, and, accompanied by twenty-four cardinals, left Rome on the twenty-sixth day of August, taking his course towards Perugia. The well-known character of the pontiff, and the resolution exhibited by him in these measures, gave just alarm to Gian-Paolo Baglioni, who, being totally unprepared to resist such an attack, consulted his safety by a timely submission, and, proceeding to Orvieto, humiliated himself before the pope, and tendered to him his services. This proceeding in some degree disarmed the resentment of Julius, who received Baglioni into his employ, on condition of his surrendering up the town and citadel of Perugia, and accompanying him with one hundred and fifty men at arms on his intended expedition into Romagna.* On the twelfth day of September, 1506, the pope entered the city of Perugia and assumed the sovereignty, which he soon afterwards delegated to the cardinal de' Medici, who from this time began to act a more conspicuous part in the concerns of Italy than he had hitherto done. From Perugia the pontiff hastened to Imola, whence he summoned Giovanni Bentivolio to surrender to him the city of Bologna, on pain of bringing down on himself all the power of his temporal and spiritual arms. Bentivolio had, however, prepared for his approach, and, relying on the promises of support given him by Louis XII., had determined to resist the attack till the arrival of his allies might relieve him from his dangers. A body of eight thousand infantry and six hundred horse had been despatched from Milan to his

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 30.

assistance; but, in the present situation of affairs in Italy, Louis had no further occasion for the services of Bentivolio, whilst the favour of the pope might still be of important use to him. He therefore directed the troops intended for the assistance of Bentivolio to join the army of his assailants. The duke of Ferrara and the republic of Florence also sent considerable reinforcements to the pontiff, and Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, was declared, with great solemnity, captain-general of the Roman army. These preparations convinced Bentivolio that all resistance would not only be ineffectual, but ruinous to him. Quitting, therefore, the city by night, he repaired to the French commander, Chaumont, and having received a safe conduct for himself and his family, he privately hastened into the Milanese, leaving the citizens of Bologna to effect such terms of reconciliation with the pope as they might think proper. A deputation from the inhabitants speedily arrranged the preliminaries for the admission of the pontiff within the walls, and on the the eleventh day of November, 1506, he entered as a conqueror, at the head of his army, amidst the rejoicings and congratulations of the people. After establishing many necessary and salutary regulations for the due administration of justice, he intrusted the government of the city to the cardinal Regino. On his return to Rome, he passed through the city of Urbino, where he remained for several days, partaking of the splendid amusements which the duke and duchess had prepared for him.*

Among all the commanders who had signalized themselves in the recent commotions of Italy, no one had acquired greater honour and more general esteem than the Great Captain Gonsalvo, who, after having, by his courage and perseverance, accomplished the conquest of Naples, had conciliated the exasperated and discordant minds of the people by his clemency, liberality, and strict administration of justice, and had thereby confirmed to his sovereign that authority which he had previously obtained. These important services had been acknowledged by Ferdinand, who, besides appointing Gonsalvo his viceroy in the kingdom of

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 31. Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. vol. xi. p. 338, &c.

Naples, had invested him with domains in that country, which produced him annually upwards of twenty thousand gold ducats, and had conferred upon him the high hereditary office of grand constable of the realm. Notwithstanding these external demonstrations of confidence and regard, the jealousy of Ferdinand was excited by the extraordinary greatness of his too powerful subject, which he conceived might inspire him with the hope of obtaining for himself the sovereign authority. No sooner was the mind of the king possessed with this idea than the virtues of Gonsalvo were converted into crimes, and his well-judged attempts to allay the jealousies and engage the affections of the people were considered only as preparatory measures to the asserting his own independence. Under the influence of these suspicions, Ferdinand requested the presence of Gonsalvo in Spain, pretending that he wished to avail himself of his counsels; but Gonsalvo excused himself, alleging that the newly-acquired authority of his sovereign was not yet sufficiently established. The injunctions of the king were repeated, and again proved ineffectual. Alarmed at these indications, Ferdinand resolved to hasten in person to Naples, and take the reins of government into his own hands. He accordingly arrived there with his young queen about the end of October, 1506, and was met at Capo Miseno by Gonsalvo, who received him with every demonstration of loyalty and respect. Neither the death of his son-in-law Philip, of which he received intelligence on his journey through the Genoese, nor the remonstrances of his ministers, who entreated him to return to take upon himself the government of the kingdom of Castile, could induce Ferdinand to interrupt his journey or to quit his Neapolitan dominions, until he had effectually secured himself against the possibility of an event, the contemplation of which had occasioned him so much anxiety. After a residence of seven months, in the course which he established many excellent regulations for the government of his new subjects, and cautiously replaced all the military officers appointed by Gonsalvo by others on whose fidelity he had greater reliance, he retired, on the fourth day of June, 1507, from Naples, on his way to Savona, accompanied by Gonsalvo, in whose place he had substituted, as viceroy of Naples,

Don John of Aragon. By a previous arrangement with Louis XII., an interview took place at Savona between the two monarchs, and four days were passed in secret and important conferences. The superstition of mankind has sought for the prognostics of future evils in the threatening aspects and conjunctions of the planets; but a conjunction of this kind is a much more certain indication of approaching commotions; nor is it perhaps without reason, that the origin of the celebrated league at Cambray, which involved Italy in new calamities, has been referred to this interview.*

On this occasion the two sovereigns contended with each other in their respect and attention to the Great Captain. Louis XII. was unwearied in expressing his admiration of the character and talents of a man who had wrested from him a kingdom, and by his solicitations Gonsalvo was permitted to sit at the same table with the royal guests. As this day, in the estimation of the vulgar, was the highest, so it was considered as the last, of the glory of Gonsalvo. On his arrival in Spain he received a notification from Ferdinand to retire to his country residence, and not to appear at court without leave. From that moment his great talents were condemned to oblivion, and he remained useless and unemployed till the time of his death, in the year 1515; when he received the reward of his services in a pompous funeral, furnished at the expense of the king.

In reviewing the transactions of his past life, Gonsalvo was accustomed to say that he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself, except his breach of faith to Ferdinand, the young duke of Calabria, and the transmitting Cæsar Borgia as a prisoner to Spain, contrary to the assurances of protection which he had given him. To these acknowledged errors he is, however, said to have added, that he had committed another crime, the nature of which he would never explain.[174]

Of these defects in the Great Captain, and particularly of his conduct towards Cæsar Borgia, a vindication has been attempted by Jovius, founded on the atrocious character of Borgia, which, as the apologist contends, justified any mea-

* *Vide* Bembo, Istor. Veneta. lib. vii. in Op. vol. i. pp. 188, 189.

sures that might be adopted against him; and on the compliance of Gonsalvo with the commands of his sovereign and with the wishes of the supreme pontiff.[175] It is not, however, difficult to perceive, that Gonsalvo, in his treachery to Borgia, gave a sanction to those very crimes which he affected to punish. However desirable the destruction of such a man may be, it is still more desirable that those principles of good faith by which human society is bound together should be kept sacred and inviolate. The other plea urged by Jovius is equally unsatisfactory. Gonsalvo had acted under the authority of his sovereign when he granted a safe conduct, and neither he nor his king could rightfully revoke an act which had induced another to confide his safety in their hands. It is indeed extremely singular, that the bishop of Nocera should attempt to justify the Spanish general in a transaction in which he could not justify himself. Thus the historian sinks below the soldier, who redeemed his crime by his contrition, and afforded a presumption that, under similar circumstances, he would not have again repeated it; but the vindication of Jovius is intended to recommend to future imitation that guilt of which Gonsalvo repented, and to set up motives of temporary expediency against the eternal laws of morality and of truth.

With respect to the third accusation of Gonsalvo against himself, the *tertium gravius factum*, it has been referred to the error which he is supposed to have committed, in suffering himself, when he had the whole military force at his command, to be divested of his authority in Naples, and reduced to a state of humiliation and solitude during the remainder of his life.* But the friends of Gonsalvo who thus construed his meaning were probably mistaken. When a person contemplates the awful period to which he was fast approaching, he seldom repents that he has not sacrificed his virtue to his interest, and his conscience to his ambition; and Gonsalvo's third cause of regret would, in this case, have implied a contradiction to his two former. He could probably have unfolded a tale—but he died a penitent, and trusted it with his other sins to the bosom of his God.

* Jov. in Vita Consalv. lib. iii. p. 275.

CHAPTER VIII.

1507—1512.

Causes of the jealousy of the European powers against the republic of Venice—Recent improvements in military discipline—The Venetians repel the attack of the emperor elect, Maximilian—Reasons alleged by Louis XII. for his hostility against them—League of Cambray—Pretexts resorted to by the allies—The Venetians prepare for their defence—Opinions of their commanders—Hostilities commenced—Louis XII. defeats the Venetians at Ghiaradadda—Dismemberment of the Venetian territories—Exertions of the Senate—Recovery of Padua and capture of the marquis of Mantua—Ineffectual attack on Padua by the emperor elect, Maximilian—The Venetian flotilla defeated on the Po by the duke of Ferrara—Pisa surrenders to the Florentines—Julius II. deserts his allies and unites his arms with the Venetians—Excommunicates the duke of Ferrara—Is besieged by the French in Bologna—Louis XII. opposes the authority of the pope—Mirandula captured by Julius II. in person—Bologna captured by the French—The cardinal of Pavia assassinated by the duke of Urbino—Council of Pisa—The holy league—Julius II. determines to restore the Medici—Bologna besieged by the allies, and relieved by de Foix—Discordant opinions of the cardinal Legate de' Medici and the Spanish general Cardona—Brescia taken and sacked by the French—De Foix attacks Ravenna—Battle before the walls—The allies defeated by de Foix, and the cardinal Legate de' Medici made prisoner—Death of de Foix—The cardinal despatches Giulio de' Medici with intelligence to Rome—Fatal effects of the battle of Ravenna to the French—The cardinal de' Medici conveyed to Bologna—Is brought prisoner to Milan on his way to France.

THE republic of Venice had hitherto been in a great measure exempt from those evils which had overturned, or endangered, the other states of Italy: but the storm that had so long poured down its wrath on the northern and southern provinces now began to gather in the east, with a still more threatening aspect. From the advantages of her local situation, and the prudence of her councils, Venice had been

enabled, in the course of the wars in which Italy had been engaged, not only to increase her trade and improve her naval strength, but also to extend her continental possessions, and to annex to her dominions most of the maritime cities on the Adriatic coast; nor is there any period of her history in which she rose to an equal degree of strength and importance. In the part which she had taken in the commotions of Italy she had generally acted on the offensive. She had supported her armies at the expense of others, or had obtained a compensation for their labours in her conquests. She was now at peace with all the European powers on both sides the Alps, nor was it easy to perceive from what quarter any serious cause of alarm could arise; but in the midst of this prosperity the mine was preparing which was intended to involve her in destruction; nor was it long before she experienced its effects, in an explosion which had nearly occasioned her total and irreparable ruin. The motives and effects of her conduct had indeed been too obvious not to excite the jealousy of all the surrounding states. To the emperor elect, Maximilian, her increasing power rendered her a dangerous rival; and Louis XII. seemed to be indebted for his Milanese dominions rather to her forbearance, than to her inability to deprive him of them. The possession of the cities of Trani, Brindisi, Gallipoli, and Otranto, which had been ceded to her by Federigo, the exiled king of Naples, and which she retained after the conquest of the rest of the kingdom by Ferdinand of Spain, caused that monarch to regard her as a future enemy, from whom he must, at some time, wrest those important places. Nor was the part which she had lately acted in Romagna likely to conciliate the favour of Julius II., who had been compelled to enter into a treaty which guaranteed to her the cities of Faenza and Rimini, and who therefore only waited for a favourable opportunity to attempt the recovery of those places.* But although the republic had excited the envy or resentment of almost all the powers of Europe, yet to reconcile all their discordant interests, and to unite them in one great object, might have been found a difficult, and perhaps an impracticable, task, if some peculiar and predisposing cir-

* Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv. i. vol. i. p. 39.

cumstances had not prepared the way to such a communication of their mutual dissatisfaction, as speedily terminated in the adoption of open hostilities against her.

Since the time of the arrival of Charles VIII. in Italy, a considerable alteration had taken place in the mode of warfare and the military preparations of the sovereigns of Europe. Before that important event, a regular standing army of infantry, set apart from the community for the purposes of war, was unknown. Sudden levies were raised as occasion required, and when the contest was over they again returned to the general mass of the inhabitants. The strength of an army consisted almost entirely in the number of its armed cavalry, who were denominated *gensdarmes*, *lances*, or *men at arms*, and when united together were emphatically called the *battle*. Into these ranks none were admitted, for a long time, but gentlemen by birth. Every man at arms brought with him into the field a certain number of horses and attendants, which varied in different countries and at different times. The full appointment of a man at arms in France was six horses and four men on foot, two of whom were archers; but in Italy the number of horses seldom exceeded three.* When in actual engagement, the archers generally composed the second and third ranks, in which station they were also at hand to render any services to the men at arms, who, from the weight and nature of their armour and offensive weapons, stood in frequent need of assistance. In the contest of Charles VIII. in Italy, and particularly at the battle of the Taro, the use of the foot soldiery, or *fanti*, began to be better known and more highly appreciated; but the first nation which gave respectability and importance to this mode of warfare was the Swiss, who raised the discipline of infantry to a degree of perfection which has seldom been since equalled, and perhaps never excelled. In the assembling of the numerous bodies of troops, which in the beginning of the sixteenth century were poured forth from the Helvetic states, and who sold their assistance to the highest bidder, the services of the individual seem to have been voluntary, and his motive and his reward were generally his share of the subsidy, or his

* Cornazzano, de re Militari, lib. iii. cap. 3.

chance of the spoil. When in action, the Swiss were remarkable for their discipline and firmness, but above all for their fidelity and unshaken attachment to each other. Their armour consisted of a casque and breast-plate, or, when these could not be procured, of the skin of a buffalo or other beast; their usual weapons were a halbert, which when not employed was slung at their back, a sword, and a pike of eighteen feet in length. When united together they formed a kind of moveable fortification called the *herisson*, against which the utmost efforts of the cavalry were of no avail. They were in an army what the bones are in the human body, but when once thrown into disorder they were not easily prevailed on to renew the conflict. Before the end of the fifteenth century, the French sovereigns had frequently experienced the value of their assistance and the ill-effects of their resentment; and they may be considered as having set the example of a regular system of infantry to the other nations of Europe. One of the earliest establishments of this nature in France consisted of a body of six thousand men, subsidized from the duke of Gueldres by Louis XII., who were denominated the *bandes noires*, or black bands, because they fought under a black standard; by which name they acquired great reputation in the wars of Italy.* The Spanish infantry, which had been chiefly formed in the wars of Naples by the great captain Gonsalvo, were remarkable beyond all others for their courage, sobriety, and discipline. Besides the pike, the battle-axe, and the poniard, they were generally armed with a heavy harquebus. In an attack, when their numbers bore a reasonable proportion to the enemy, they were considered as irresistible; and even when defeated, they seldom took to flight without rallying and returning with fresh ardour to the charge. Besides the *gens-darmes*, bodies of light-armed cavalry began about this time to be frequently employed; and large troops of horse were also obtained from the continental territories of the state of Venice, and the adjacent provinces of Greece, who fought in the irregular manner of the Turks, and under the name of *stradiotti*, or hussars, were the usual harbingers of an attack, and the terror of a defeated enemy.

* Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv. iii. vol. ii. p. 13.

Towards the close of the year 1507, the emperor elect, Maximilian, having some important designs upon Italy, the object of which he did not choose to define, but which he disguised under the pretence that that he meant to proceed to Rome, to receive from the hands of the pope the imperial crown, requested permission from the Venetians to pass with his army through their states. The senate were at this time in strict alliance with Louis XII., and, being apprehensive that Maximilian meant to attack the Milanese, and unwilling to afford any pretext for a rupture with the French monarch, refused to comply with his request; at the same time assuring him of an honourable and respectful reception and a safe-conduct for himself and his retinue, in case he wished to pass in a pacific manner through their dominions. On this refusal, Maximilian resolved to effect a passage by force, and descending through the Tyrol, entered the Venetian states in the beginning of the year 1508, and captured several important places in the district of Friuli.[176] He was, however, soon opposed by Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who had lately entered into the service of the Venetians, and who having by rapid marches unexpectedly attacked the imperialists under the command of the duke of Brunswick at Codauro, defeated them with such slaughter that scarcely one of them survived to carry to Maximilian the intelligence of his disaster.[177] The Venetians, having thus speedily recovered their possessions, attacked in return the territories of their adversary, and would have possessed themselves of the city of Trent, and the whole district of the Tyrol, had not the inhabitants, although deserted by the imperialists, courageously defended their country. Humiliated by these events, Maximilian listened with eagerness to terms of accommodation; and a treaty of peace for three years, was on the sixth day of June, 1508, concluded between him and the senate, which seemed once more to have restored the public tranquillity.

This hasty reconciliation gave, however, great dissatisfaction to Louis XII., who, being at enmity with Maximilian, and having despatched a body of troops, under the command of Trivulzio, to the assistance of the Venetians, although with directions, as it was supposed, rather to regard the motions of the adverse armies, than to take an active part on the behalf

of either,* affected to be highly offended that the Venetians should have accommodated their differences with Maximilian without previously consulting him on the terms proposed. It is true, the senate had in the treaty reserved a power for the king of France to accede to it if he should think proper, of which power he afterwards availed himself; but he was no party to the preamble, and was introduced only as their auxiliary, like a potentate of a secondary rank.† Affecting great displeasure at this apparent insult, and perhaps alarmed at the increasing power of the Venetians, Louis now determined to accommodate his differences with Maximilian, and to secure or extend his Milanese possessions by the humiliation of these haughty republicans. For the attainment of the first of these objects he had recourse to a stratagem, which sufficiently proves that in political artifice the French were not inferior to the Italians. Whilst he assigned as a cause of his resentment against the Venetians their want of confidence in him, he despatched his envoys to Maximilian to inform him, that the Venetians had disclosed to him the most secret particulars of the negotiation; thereby endeavouring to convince Maximilian that they had betrayed his interests, and to excite his anger against his new allies who had treated him with so much duplicity and disrespect.‡ By such representations the fluctuating mind of Maximilian again changed its purpose, and his resentment against the senate was confirmed, on finding that his name and achievements had been made the subject of caricature exhibitions, and satirical ballads, which were sung through the streets of Venice. The animosity that had so long subsisted between these rival monarchs was by these means suddenly extinguished. The representations made by Louis XII. to Julius II. and to Ferdinand of Aragon were equally successful, and the attack and dismemberment of the states of Venice were determined on with a celerity and unanimity which seemed to insure success to the attempt.

In the month of October, 1508, the plenipotentiaries of the confederate powers met in the city of Cambray. The repre-

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 38.
† Ligue de Cambray, liv. i. vol. i. p. 64.
‡ Bembo, Istor. Venet. lib. vii.

sentative of Maximilian was his daughter, Margaretta, the same princess who had been repudiated by Charles VIII., and who, having survived her second husband, Philibert, duke of Savoy, had undertaken, during the minority of the archduke Charles, the government of the Netherlands, which she conducted with great credit and ability. George of Amboise, cardinal of Rouen, appeared in the two-fold capacity of ambassador of Louis XII. and legate of the pope, and Jacopo de Albion as the envoy of the king of Spain. On the tenth day of December a treaty was concluded for the attack and dismemberment of the territories of Venice.* By the terms of this treaty Maximilian was to possess the cities and districts of Rovereta, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Trevigi, and Friuli, with the patriarchate of Aquileja, and all places of which he had been divested by the Venetians in the course of the late war. The king of France stipulated for the cities of Brescia, Crema, Bergamo, and Cremona, and the whole district of Ghiaradadda, as part of the ancient possessions of the dukes of Milan. Ferdinand of Spain was to be remunerated for his share in the war by the restitution of the maritime cities of Naples; and the pope was to recover the territories in Romagna, which on the expulsion of Cæsar Borgia had been occupied by the Venetians, and which included the cities of Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, and Rimini. To these were also added in the treaty the cities of Imola and Cesena, which were not then under the Venetian government, and which it has been supposed were inserted through the ignorance of the cardinal of Rouen;† but it is much more probable that these places yet retained their allegiance to Borgia, and required the aid of the confederates to reduce them to the obedience of the church. A power was reserved for the duke of Savoy, as king of Cyprus, the duke of Ferrara, and marquis of Mantua, to become parties in the league, to which they afterwards acceded; and that nothing might be wanting to overwhelm or terrify the devoted republic of Venice, the kings of England and of Hungary were also invited to take a share in the attack.

As Maximilian had so lately entered into a treaty of amity

* Lünig, tom. i. p. 134. Dumont, tom. iv. par. i. p. 114.

† Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 39. Ligue de Cambray, liv. i. tom. i. p. 50.

with the Venetians, which he had solemnly sworn to maintain, and as no offence had since been given by them which could be construed into a justification of hostilities on his part, it became necessary to resort to some measure which might afford, in the eyes of the world, a sufficient reason for the part which he intended to act. For the accomplishment of this object, and to satisfy the honour and conscience of Maximilian, it was therefore expressly agreed that Julius II., who it seems stood in no need of any pretext for infringing the treaty which he had himself entered into, should call upon the emperor elect, as defender of the rights of the church, to assist in asserting its claims; and that Maximilian should, within forty days after the first of April, 1509, the day particularly agreed on for the commencement of hostilities, enter the Venetian territories at the head of his army, without further regard either to his alliances or his oath. The nature and object of this treaty were, however, cautiously concealed from the Venetians, under the pretext that it related to an accommodation between the archduke Charles and the duke of Gueldres; and in order to give a greater degree of probability to this assertion, another treaty was actually concluded between those parties, which bears the same date as that which it was intended to conceal.[178]

The rumours of the measures adopted at Cambray, and the preparations making by the chief powers of Europe for some great undertaking, from which the Venetians were cautiously excluded, at length excited their suspicions, and they directed Condelmaro, their ambassador at the court of France, to obtain such explanations from the cardinal of Rouen as might allay their apprehensions, or justify their conduct in preparing for their defence. The cardinal attempted for a time to impose on the Venetian envoy by equivocal assurances and crafty representations; but finding these would not avail, he had recourse to direct falsehood, and assured the envoy, on the faith of a cardinal and a prime minister, that the king would still adhere to the treaty of Blois, and that nothing had occurred at Cambray which could be injurious to the Venetian republic.* These assurances were, if we may give credit to

* Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray, liv. i. vol i. p. 70.

Bembo, confirmed by the king himself, who pledged his faith to Condelmaro to the same effect; and added, that he considered himself as the friend of the senate, and consequently would not have consented to any measures which might prove prejudicial to its interests.[179]

No sooner, however, were the Venetians aware of the magnitude of the danger with which they were threatened, than they began to prepare for a vigorous defence. Nor did they neglect such measures as they thought most likely to avert the anger or to soften the resentment of their enemies. They proposed to Julius II. to surrender up to him the places which they had occupied in Romagna; and they employed their utmost efforts to detach the emperor elect and the king of Spain from their alliance with the king of France. Repulsed in these attempts, they resorted for assistance to the other powers of Europe, and endeavoured to prevail on the king of England to attack the dominions of France, whilst Louis XII. and his gensdarmes were beyond the Alps:* nor did they hesitate, in this dangerous emergency, to call upon the Turkish emperor Bajazet for his assistance against the confederates, who, by the very terms of their alliance, had avowed their hostility against him. Towards whatever quarter they turned for aid they met only with disappointment or neglect; and the republic was left without a single ally, to oppose itself to a combination more powerful than any that Europe had known since the time of the crusades. Their spirit was, however, unbroken, and their resources such as might be expected from a rich and powerful people. Their generals were soon enabled to take the field at the head of forty thousand men, under the various descriptions of infantry, men at arms, light horse, and *stradiotti*, or hussars, composed chiefly of Greeks. A powerful naval armament was at the same time directed to co-operate with the army whenever it might be practicable; but at the very moment when every effort was making to increase the maritime strength of the country, the arsenal, at that time the admiration of Europe, was treacherously set on fire, by which a considerable quantity of ammunition and naval stores, and

* The Venetian envoy on this occasion was Andrea Badoardo, who had resided many years in England.

twelve of their galleys of war, were destroyed. A few days afterwards information was received that the castle of Brescia was blown up; and about the same time the building fell, in which were kept the archives of the republic; incidents which, from the critical period at which they occurred, gave reason to the superstitious to believe that the destruction of the republic was near at hand.

The chief military commanders in the service of the senate at this period were Nicolò Orsino, count of Pitigliano, and Bartolommeo d'Alviano, both of them men of great courage and experience, but of very different characters; d'Alviano being daring and impetuous almost to rashness, whilst the count was cool, deliberate, and cautious, to an opposite extreme. The object of the one was to terminate the war by a single effort; that of the other to defeat the enemy by involving him in difficulties, so as to prevent even the necessity of an engagement. One of the first measures of the senate was to call these commanders to Venice, and to request their deliberate sentiments on the best methods to be adopted for the defence of the state. These opinions were conformable to the different tempers and views of those who delivered them. The count of Pitigliano advised the senate to fortify their continental cities, and to act upon the defensive, until events should occur which might weaken or destroy a league that had within itself the principles of dissolution. D'Alviano, on the contrary, contended that it was more expedient to take the field before their enemies were prepared for the attack; and rather to carry the war into the states of Milan, than to wait the approach of the French king within the Venetian territories. Without wholly adopting either of these opinions, the senate steered a middle course; and whilst they prepared for the defence of their strong cities, they directed that their generals should not proceed beyond the Adda.*

Scarcely had the Venetian army taken the field, when the tempest burst upon that devoted state from all quarters. Francesco Maria della Rovere, nephew to the pope, and who was now become duke of Urbino, proceeded through the territories of Faenza and stormed the town of Brisinghalla,

* Guicciard. lib. viii. vol. i. p. 416. Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 42.

where he put to death upwards of two thousand persons, and by his unsparing cruelty led the way to still greater enormities. The marquis of Mantua attacked the district of Verona, but was vigorously opposed by d'Alviano. Amidst the storm of war, Julius II. rolled forth the thunders of the Vatican, and placed the state of Venice under the interdict of the church. The French army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, of whom six thousand were Swiss mercenaries, and of five thousand horse, with Louis XII. at their head, passed the Adda at Cassano, and captured the towns of Trevigli, Rivolto, and other places, which they sacked; but on the approach of the count of Pitigliano they retreated across the river, having first garrisoned the fortress of Trevigli. The count, having bombarded the fortress with heavy artillery, compelled the garrison, after an obstinate defence, to surrender; but no sooner were the Venetian soldiery in possession of the town, than they followed the example of their enemies, in slaughtering and despoiling the unfortunate inhabitants. Such was the licentiousness of the troops, that the discipline of the army was greatly relaxed; and before they could be compelled to return to their duty it was found necessary to complete the ruin of the inhabitants, by setting fire to the town. This disgraceful incident afforded the king an opportunity of again passing the Adda, of which he did not fail to avail himself.

In the beginning of the month of May, 1509, the two armies were opposed to each other in the district of Ghiaradadda,* where the king made several efforts to compel the Venetian commanders to a decisive engagement. For some time the advice of the count of Pitigliano, to avoid so hazardous a measure, prevailed; but the impetuosity of d'Alviano seconded the views of the king, and after some partial movements it became no longer possible to avoid an engagement. The vanguard of the French army was led by the marshal Trivulzio; the centre, by the king in person, accompanied by Charles of Amboise, sieur de Chaumont and governor of Milan;[180] and the rear by the sieur de la Palisse. Of the

* *Ghiara*, a gravelly beach, or bed of a river; hence *Ghiara d'Adda*, or the beach of the river Adda, from which the whole district is denominated.

Venetian army, d'Alviano led the attack; the count of Pitigliano with the battle, or cavalry, occupied the centre; and the rear-guard was commanded by Antonio de' Pii, accompanied by the Venetian commissaries. The action, which took place on the fourteenth day of May, at a place called Agnadello, continued only three hours; but in that time upwards of ten thousand men lay dead on the field; of whom the greater part were Italians. D'Alviano, after displaying many instances of undoubted courage, was wounded and taken prisoner, and the French remained complete masters of the day, with the artillery, standards, and ammunition of the vanquished.[181] The count of Pitigliano, with a small body of cavalry, escaped to Caravaggio. Some authors have asserted, that the defeat of the Venetians is chiefly to be attributed to the misconduct of the count, who disgracefully fled in the midst of the battle;* but the senate were too severe judges to allow such an instance of treachery, or of cowardice, to pass without a bitter retribution; instead of which we find the count soon afterwards confidentially employed in their service. The result of the battle, if not to be attributed to the superior courage and impetuosity of the assailants, among whom the celebrated Gaston de Foix, then very young, was greatly distinguished, may be accounted for from the whole of the French army having been brought into action, whilst the Italians engaged only in detached bodies; in consequence of which their vanguard was defeated with an immense loss, before their cavalry, in which consisted the strength of their army, could take a part in the contest.

Before Louis XII. proceeded to reap the fruits of his victory he determined to give a signal proof of his piety and his gratitude, by erecting a church on the field of battle. An edifice was accordingly raised on the very spot which yet streamed with the blood of those who had died in defence of their country, and was designated by the name of *S. Maria della Vittoria*, although it might with much more propriety have been dedicated to the deities of treachery, of rapine, and of slaughter.[182]† This structure has been considered by the French as an omen of success in subsequent

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 44. † Ibid. vol. x. p. 45.

times: the duke of Vendosme having, in the beginning of the last century, defeated the imperial army within sight of its walls.

The intelligence of this decisive engagement and the terror of the French arms facilitated their progress through the Venetian dominions. The districts of Ghiaradadda and Caravaggio, the cities of Cremona, Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, instantly surrendered to the conqueror. The fortress of Peschiera, defended only by five hundred men, for some time resisted his efforts; but overpowered by the French artillery, the besieged at length desired to capitulate, and made frequent signals that they were ready to surrender. Their submission was ineffectual. The assailants entered the citadel by storm, put all persons within it to the sword, and seizing upon the Venetian commissary, Andrea Riva, and his son, hanged them from the walls of the castle.[183] Notwithstanding the partiality of the French historians to the conduct and character of Louis XII., it is acknowledged that on this occasion he appeared to have forgotten his maxims of clemency; and it would have been well for the reputation of that monarch if the observation could have been confined only to this event. Misfortunes so unexpected and atrocities so unparalleled struck the senate with terror; and, despairing of any further defence of their continental possessions, they only sought how they might most effectually mitigate the resentment, or gratify the ambition, of their numerous adversaries. They therefore signified to Julius II. their readiness to surrender to him the whole of their possessions in Romagna; they proposed to relinquish unconditionally to Ferdinand of Spain the cities which they held on the Neapolitan coast; and they despatched an ambassador to the emperor elect, Maximilian, informing him that they had already given directions to their governors at Verona and Vicenza to deliver those places up to him, as soon as he should make his appearance.[184] Maximilian, however, displayed no great ardour in availing himself of the advantages prepared for him by his allies; but in due time the imperial army arrived and triumphantly took possession of those cities, as well as of Padua, without being under the necessity of making an

hostile effort.* Whilst the chief parties to the league were thus appropriating to themselves their share of the spoil, the inferior allies were not idle. Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, now dignified with the title of *gonfaloniere* of the church, possessed himself of the Polesine, and of the districts of Este, Montagnano, and Monfelice, the ancient heritages of his family.† Other commanders eagerly embraced this opportunity of stripping the Venetians of their possessions. Cristoforo Frangipani seized upon several fortresses in Istria, and the duke of Brunswick rendered himself master of Feltri and Belluno, with several parts of Friuli. Never before had the Venetian lion been so shorn of his honours, never had St. Mark been so inattentive to the interests of his faithful votaries, as on this occasion.[185]

In the midst of their calamities the Venetians had, however, some peculiar advantages. The situation of their capital, surrounded by the waves of the Adriatic, secured them from the apprehensions of total destruction. Whatever the limbs might suffer, the head was sound and capable of strong exertion. In their numerous and well-appointed fleet they had a bulwark which defied the utmost malice of their enemies. If, under these circumstances, they appeared to have resigned themselves to despair, it was not of long continuance, and the depression served only to give a more elastic impulse to their efforts. Their attempts to mitigate the anger of Julius II. had hitherto been as ineffectual as their submissive representations to Maximilian. A persecution so relentless, instead of continuing to excite their terror, began at length to awaken their resentment; and the senate resounded with the most unqualified abuse of the father of the faithful, who was represented as much better qualified for the office of a public executioner, than for that to which he had been promoted.‡ They therefore began to collect together the remains of their unfortunate army; they directed the soldiers who had garrisoned their fortresses in Romagna and the kingdom of Naples to repair to Venice;

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 46.

† Gibbon, Posth. Works, vol. ii. p. 685.

‡ "Non pontefice, ma *carnefice*, d'ogni crudeltà maestro."—Bembo.

and they obtained from Istria, Albania, and Dalmatia, considerable bodies of brave and experienced troops. The count of Pitigliano exerted his utmost efforts in their service; and by his personal credit and authority, and the liberal rewards which he offered, he induced many of the Italian *Condottieri* to join his standard with their followers. In a short time the Venetians were enabled to oppose the imperialists in the vicinity of Trevigi, where they defeated a body of troops under the command of Constantine, despot of the Morea, who, after having been despoiled of his dominions by the Turks, had engaged in the service of Maximilian.

This success led the way to bolder efforts, and the count of Pitigliano was directed to attempt the recovery of the important city of Padua, which, under the impressions of terror, had been surrendered to the imperialists. The inhabitants, already disgusted by the licentiousness of the German soldiery, had shewn a manifest disposition to return to the obedience of their former lords.* By the united efforts of treachery and of force, the count of Pitigliano succeeded in obtaining possession of the city; the Germans betook themselves to flight, and such of the Paduan nobility as had favoured their cause, severely expiated, by imprisonment, by exile, or by death, their versatility or their treachery. This event, which was considered as of infinite importance to the republic, took place on the feast of S. Marina, the seventeenth day of July, 1509,[186] and was speedily followed by another scarcely of inferior importance. Francesco, marquis of Mantua, having withdrawn himself into the island of Scala, with a small party of troops, was unexpectedly attacked by a body of the Venetians, assisted by the neighbouring inhabitants, who, under favour of the night, dispersed and plundered his soldiers. The marquis, amidst the alarm, descended from a window, almost naked, and endeavoured to shelter himself in a corn-field, but was betrayed by a peasant to whom he had promised a great reward if he would favour his escape. Being made a prisoner, he was first brought to Lignano, and afterwards sent to Venice, where he was committed to the *Torreselle*, in which he was some months confined.[187]

* Murat. Ann. d'Ital. vol. x. p. 48.

The return of Louis XII. to France soon after the battle of Ghiaradadda was another circumstance highly favourable to the republic; nor was this advantage greatly counteracted by the efforts of the emperor elect, Maximilian, who, towards the end of the month of August, arrived in Italy, at the head of a considerable body of troops, of various nations, languages, and manners, bringing with him an immense train of artillery, with which he immediately applied himself to the recovery of Padua.[188] He was reinforced by Ippolito, cardinal of Este, who, following the example of the pontiff, marched in his ecclesiastical habiliments at the head of his troops. After having for some time desolated the defenceless country, and captured a few places of little importance, Maximilian commenced in the month of September the siege of Padua, with an army and an apparatus that seemed to command success. The Venetians were, however, indefatigable in preparing for its defence. With a magnanimity which has seldom been equalled, the doge Loredano requested that the senate would permit him to send his children to be shut up within the besieged city. His proposal was received with joy. The enthusiasm of the young nobility of Venice was excited to the highest degree, and three hundred of them voluntarily accompanied the sons of the doge to Padua.* The contest continued during fifteen days, with the loss on both sides of many thousand lives. On the twenty-seventh day of September Maximilian made his last effort, and attempted to carry the place by storm; and that the courage of his troops might be excited by national emulation, the Germans, the French, and the Spaniards were directed to assail the place in three different bodies. A vigorous resistance, however, frustrated the efforts of Maximilian, and destroyed his hopes. Looking around him he saw his army thinned by desertion. The sum of one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, which he had obtained from the pope, was already expended, and there appeared no possibility of a further supply. He therefore abandoned the siege, and withdrew with his army to Vicenza,† whence, after dismissing from his service a great part of his followers, whom he was no longer able to pay, he

* Bembo, lib. ix. Ligue de Cambray, liv. i. tom. i. p. 126.
† Guicciard. lib. viii. vol. i. p. 453. Bembo, lib. ix.

returned to Vienna to add one more to his former triumphs; whilst the Venetians not only retained the city of Padua, but soon afterwards recovered from him the principal part of the district of Friuli.[139]

Among the confederate powers, no one had excited the resentment of the Venetians in so great a degree as Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, and they no sooner began to recover their strength than they resolved to punish him for the active part which he had taken against them. For this purpose they prepared an armament of eighteen galleys, with a large supply of ammunition, and a considerable body of troops, which proceeding up the Po, devastated the country on each side, and filled the inhabitants of Ferrara with terror. Alfonso, at the head of his troops, and with a powerful reinforcement from the French, hastened to oppose their progress; and a bloody engagement took place at Polesella, in which Lodovico Pico, count of Mirandula, perished by a shot, whilst standing at the side of the cardinal of Este. A few days afterwards the Venetians entered the city of Comacchio, which, with a barbarity common to all parties, they delivered up to the fury of the soldiery. A severe retribution, however, awaited them; under cover of the night the cardinal of Este had brought down a large train of heavy artillery to the banks of the river; one part of which he stationed above and the other below the Venetian flotilla. At break of day he opened these batteries upon them with such effect as to overwhelm them in inevitable destruction. Two of the galleys perished in the midst of the stream, a third was destroyed by fire, and whilst the Venetians were attempting to escape with the remainder of their fleet, they were attacked by several barks, strongly manned with soldiers from Ferrara, and were totally routed. The loss of the Venetians on this occasion exceeded three thousand men, and Ippolito led fifteen galleys in triumph to Ferrara.*

The example of the dreadful enormities committed by the conquering party upon every place which resisted their arms was an awful lesson to the inhabitants of Pisa, who, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Florentines, had hitherto

* Ariosto, Orl. Fur. cant. iii. st. 57.

defended their city, and refused all terms of reconciliation. A bold, but unsuccessful attempt made by the assailants to turn the course of the Arno served only to give new courage to the besieged; but the Florentines had at length reduced the art of famishing to a system, and deprived the inhabitants of Pisa of all hopes of supply. Expedients horrid to relate were resorted to; but human efforts are bounded by human weakness, and the long sufferings of the people of Pisa now approached their termination. Propositions were at length made by the inhabitants for the surrender of the place, by which they reserved to themselves considerable rights, and claimed great indulgences. To these the Florentines willingly and wisely acceded, and on the eighth day of June, 1509, their commissioners entered the city, and by the generosity of their conduct, their strict observance of the stipulated terms, and their attention to repair the injuries of the war, soon convinced the inhabitants that they had been contending for the space of nearly fifteen years, with unexampled obstinacy and incredible sufferings, against their own real interests.*

Hitherto the Venetians had relied only on their own courage and resources, and in spite of all the efforts of the powerful league which had been so unexpectedly formed against them, their affairs continued daily to improve, when the loss of the count of Pitigliano, who had served them many years with great fidelity, deranged their military operations and excited their just regret. His death was attributed to the fatigues which he had suffered in the service of the republic; and so sensible were the senate of his merits, that they erected to his memory a statue of brass with an honourable inscription.†

But whilst the Venetians were thus struggling with their misfortunes, a favourable gleam at length appeared, and gave them the promise of fairer times. Julius II. by the recovery of Romagna had accomplished the object which had induced him to become a party in the league of Cambray. If this could have been done without the intervention of his allies, he would gladly have dispensed with their services; but

* Murat. Ann. d'Ital. vol. x. p. 54.
† Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. viii. p. 59.

having now reaped the full benefit of their assistance, his next consideration was, how he might best secure the advantages which he had obtained. The rapid successes of the French, compared with the tardy progress and fruitless attempts of Maximilian, seemed likely to give them a preponderating influence in Italy; and the destruction of the Venetian republic would have rendered Louis XII. the sovereign of all the northern part of that country, from the gulf of Genoa to that of Venice. Induced by these considerations, Julius admitted to his presence the Venetian ambassadors, who had before in vain solicited an audience, and having received their submission, he released the republic from his spiritual censures with assurances of his future favour and support.[190] As this event could not long be concealed from the knowledge of the French monarch, Julius lost no time in adopting the most effectual measures to secure himself against his resentment. By the offer of a large sum of money he attempted to detach Maximilian from his alliance with France.* He endeavoured to excite against Louis XII. an insurrection in the city of Genoa, where he had considerable influence. By the most earnest representations he tried to prevail upon Henry VIII. of England to make a descent on the French coast.† He was more successful with Ferdinand of Spain, who having also now obtained his object, was easily persuaded to join in expelling the French from Italy; but what was of still greater importance, he engaged in his service fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, for the purpose of making an irruption into the Milanese dominions of the French king.‡ The unexpected assistance of such an active and determined ally gave fresh courage to the Venetians. They increased the numbers of their army, the general command of which they intrusted to Lucio Malvezzo, and that of their infantry to Lorenzo, or Renzo, da Ceri. They engaged a body of five hundred Turkish horse, under the command of Giovanni Epirota, and they set at liberty the marquis of Mantua

* Lünig, vol. ii. p. 2002.

† At the same time the pope sent Henry the consecrated rose, dipped in chrism, and perfumed with musk.—Rapin, vol. i. p. 708.

‡ Lünig, vol. ii. p. 2499.

upon such liberal terms as induced him in future to favour their interests.*

These events may be considered as the entire dissolution of the league of Cambray, and shortly occasioned a new aspect of public affairs. Julius, having now secured the aid of the Swiss, and having in his service two powerful armies, one of which was commanded by Marc-Antonio Colonna, a young soldier of high worth and splendid talents, to whom he had given his niece in marriage, the other by his nephew, the duke of Urbino, dismissed from his presence the French ambassadors and those of the duke of Ferrara. He also admonished the duke to desist from further hostilities against the republic of Venice, and in particular to relinquish the siege of Lignano, which he was then carrying on with great activity.[191] As the duke did not appear inclined to relax in his efforts, Julius instantly deprived him of his title of *gonfaloniere* of the church, which he conferred with great solemnity on the marquis of Mantua, and soon afterwards excommunicated the duke and all his family, declaring him deprived of his dominions, and pointing him out to the vengeance of all Christendom as a rebel to the holy see. At the same time the duke of Urbino entered the territory of Ferrara, where, with the assistance of the Venetians, he captured many important places, and among others the city of Modena; carrying the war almost to the walls of Ferrara itself.† The indefatigable activity of Alfonso, with the aid of the French troops from Milan, preserved him, however, from the destruction with which he was threatened, and in the variable events of the year he obtained, in his turn, considerable advantages over the Venetian and papal troops.

For the purpose of conducting the war with greater vigour, Julius II. had proceeded from Rome to Bologna, accompanied by most of the cardinals and attendants of his court.[192] At the same period Chaumont, governor of Milan, instigated by the representations of the Bentivoli, directed his arms against that place; where Julius, indisposed by sickness, and wholly unprepared for defence, had nearly fallen into the hands of his enemies. He had, however, the policy to open

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. pp. 57, 60. † Ibid. 59, 60.

a treaty with the French general, whose exorbitant demands afforded him a pretext for delay. The ambassador on whose talents he relied in this emergency was Giovan-Francesco Pico, count of Mirandula, the nephew of the celebrated Giovanni Pico, and himself one of the most learned men of his age. It soon, however, appeared that the only object of the pontiff was to gain time, till his allies, whom he had informed of the dangers of his situation, could arrive to his relief. A large body of Spanish and Venetian troops made their appearance most opportunely for his holiness, and Chaumont, regretting the opportunity which he had lost, and suffering from the want of supplies, withdrew himself into the Milanese.* During the residence of the pope at Bologna, he had entertained suspicions of Giuliano, the brother of the cardinal de' Medici, whom he confined in the palace, under an idea that he had conspired with his ancient friends the Bentivoli to effect their return; a few days, however, convinced the pope that his distrust was unfounded, and Giuliano was again restored to liberty.†

The vehemence of Julius II., in subjecting all his enemies indiscriminately to the penalties of ecclesiastical censures, at length gave rise to a more alarming opposition than any which he had heretofore experienced. In devoting Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, to the pains of excommunication, he had expressly included in the same censure all those who supported his cause. The emperor elect, Maximilian, and Louis XII. were therefore virtually under the anathema of the church. Considered merely in a spiritual point of view, this was by no means an object of indifference at a time when the efficacy of the keys of S. Peter had never yet been questioned; but, however insensible these monarchs had been to their spiritual welfare, the censures of the pope, in releasing their subjects from their obedience, had laid the foundations of rebellion and tumult in every part of their dominions. Louis XII. endeavoured to remonstrate with Julius on this unjustifiable use of his pontifical power; but the pope, instead of attending to his representations, shut up his minister, the cardinal of Auch, in the castle of S. Angelo.‡ Alarmed

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 62.

† Guicciard. lib. viii. vol. i. p. 464. ‡ Ibid. lib. ix. vol. i. p. 484.

and exasperated to a high degree, Louis called together the French prelates, and requested their united opinion, whether he was justifiable in defending against the papal arms a prince of the empire, whom the pope had endeavoured to divest of a state which had been held under the imperial sanction for more than a century.[193] The reply of the clergy was, as might be expected, favourable to the views of the king, and, in removing his scruples, emboldened him to a more decided opposition. As a mark of his determined hostility against the pope, he caused a medal to be struck with his own portrait, bearing the title and arms of king of France and Naples, and the motto, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN.* He opened a treaty with Maximilian for the convocation of a general council of the church at Lyons, and five cardinals had already expressed their willingness to attend the assembly. Maximilian not only listened with eagerness to the proposal, but, it has been said, formed also the design of procuring himself to be elected to the papacy; and although this has been considered as an empty and unfounded report,† yet it accords too well with the vain and fluctuating disposition of Maximilian, and is too well supported by historical evidence to admit the supposition of its being wholly destitute of foundation.[194] Whether this gave rise to difficulties which were not easily obviated, or whether other causes prevented the assembly of the proposed council of Lyons, that measure did not take place; but it was not long before a similar proceeding was resorted to, which for some years divided the authority and disturbed the repose of the Christian world.

The great object to which the pope now turned his exertions was the destruction of the duke of Ferrara, and the reunion of his territories with the states of the church; but before he could attack the dominions of Alfonso with a full prospect of success, he judged it necessary to possess himself of the principalities of Mirandula and Concordia, then held by Francesca, the widow of Lodovico Pico, and daughter of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio. In the month of December, 1510,

* Thuani Histor. lib. i. p. 16. The meaning of this inscription has given rise to much discussion.

† Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 64.

Concordia submitted to his arms; but Francesca refused to surrender her capital, and avowed her intention of defending it to the last extremity. For a considerable time the united force of the Venetian and papal troops was ineffectually employed to reduce the place; when at length the pope, exasperated beyond measure at the delay, and distrusting even his own generals, among whom his nephew the duke of Urbino held the chief command, determined to join the army in person, and forward the operations of the assailants. In the midst of the severest winter that had been known in Italy for many years, the hoary pontiff marched at the head of his troops, amidst frost and storms, to the attack of Mirandula. He directed in person the planting of the artillery; he regulated the order of the attack; he exposed himself fearlessly to the fire of the enemy, till at length he effected a breach in the walls, and reduced the besieged to the necessity of a capitulation. In compliance with the terms agreed on, the inhabitants hastened to open their gates; but such was the impetuosity of the pontiff, that, without waiting for a formal surrender, he mounted a scaling-ladder, and entered the city, sword in hand, through the breach in the walls.[195] Having there received the submission of Francesca, he delivered up the place to his adherent, Giovan-Francesco Pico, who justly claimed the supreme authority as his right of inheritance. After remaining about ten days at Mirandula, to recover from his military fatigues, Julius proceeded to Ravenna, with a determination to attack the city of Ferrara, but the vigilance of the duke was equal to the violence of his enemies, and in several engagements, this experienced soldier and magnanimous prince defeated the united arms of the Venetians and the pope with considerable loss.

Some overtures being about this time made for the restoration of peace, the pope left Ravenna and repaired to Bologna, for the purpose of meeting the ambassadors of the different potentates; but Julius was not formed for a mediator, and the interview served only to kindle fresh animosities. No sooner was the unsuccessful event of the negotiation known, than the marshal Trivulzio, at the head of a formidable body of French troops, hastened towards Bologna,

The pope being apprized of his approach, and not choosing to confide in the courage or the fidelity of the inhabitants, suddenly quitted the place, and, accompanied by his whole court, returned to Ravenna. He did not, however, fail to admonish his faithful subjects to retain their allegiance to him, and to defend themselves to the last extremity; and he intrusted the chief command to Francesco Alidosio, cardinal of Pavia, who, on the departure of the pope, took the speediest measures for the defence of the place. The exhortations of the pontiff were, however, soon forgotten. As the enemy approached, the inhabitants began to dread the lingering torments of a siege, or the sudden horrors of a direct attack. The exiled family of the Bentivoli had yet their partisans within the walls. It was to no purpose that the cardinal entreated the citizens to co-operate in the defence of the place with the duke of Urbino, who closely watched the motions of the French army, or that he requested them to admit a body of one thousand papal troops within the walls. The revolt became apparent, and the cardinal with some difficulty effected his escape to Imola; whilst Annibale and Hermes Bentivoli, who had followed the French army, were received into the city with joy, and reassumed the government of their native place. One of the first outrages of popular fury was the destruction of the beautiful statue of Julius II. cast in brass by Michael Agnolo, which, after having been indignantly dragged about the city, was broken in pieces, and sent by the French commander to the duke of Ferrara, who formed it into a cannon, to which he gave the name of "Julio." The head alone was preserved, and continued for some time to ornament the ducal museum at Ferrara.[196]

The loss of the city of Bologna, which was soon followed by the defeat and dispersion of the papal troops in its vicinity,[197] led the way to another incident which occasioned the pope still greater distress. From Imola the cardinal of Pavia had hastened to Ravenna, to excuse himself to the pope for having left the city of Bologna to be occupied by the arms of the French; in the course of which exculpation it was supposed that he intended to charge the duke of Urbino with having, through inattention or negligence, con-

tributed to this disaster. The pope, who entertained a favourable opinion of the cardinal, was well disposed to listen to his representations, and appointed a time when he should visit him; but as the cardinal was proceeding on horseback with his attendants to the proposed interview, he was met in the street by the duke of Urbino, who passed through the midst of the guards, and whilst they ranged themselves on each side to shew him respect, rode up to the cardinal and stabbed him with a dagger, so that he fell instantly dead from his horse.[198] Such an atrocious and sacrilegious act of treachery excited at once the grief and the indignation of the pontiff,[199] who, with severe denunciations against the perpetrator of the crime, instantly quitted Ravenna and hastened to Rome, where he instituted a formal process against the duke, and deprived him of all his dignities. The resentment of the pope was not, however, of long continuance. At the expiration of five months he allowed himself to be prevailed upon, by the representations of his courtiers, to restore his nephew to his honours; and upon his visiting the city of Rome, and supplicating pardon for his offence, the pope absolved him from his homicide in the presence of all the cardinals, and restored him again to his favour.

Whilst the grief of the pope for the loss of Bologna was thus increased by the death of the cardinal of Pavia, and he was hastening from Ravenna to Rome, to pursue measures against the murderer, he found, on passing through the city of Rimini, that notices were published of a general council of the church, which was to be held in the city of Pisa, on the first day of September, 1511, and at which he was cited to appear in person. This measure was the result of long deliberation between Louis XII. and the emperor elect, Maximilian, who having prevailed on several of the cardinals to unite in their views, at length succeeded in exciting against the pope this formidable opposition. At the head of this council was Bernardo Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce, who was equally distinguished by his literary acquirements and political talents, and held a high rank in the college. He was powerfully supported by the cardinal Sanseverino, who, being of a Milanese family, and devoted to the cause of the French, was supposed to have prevailed upon the cardinal of

Santa Croce to engage in this hazardous undertaking, by representing to him the probability of his obtaining the pontifical dignity on the abdication or expulsion of Julius II. Among the other cardinals who concurred in this measure were those of S. Malo, Bajosa, and Cosenza. The influence which Louis XII. had acquired over the republic of Florence had induced the magistrates, after great hesitation, to concede to him the city of Pisa as the place of assembly; but their assent was rather tacit than avowed, and with such secrecy were the preliminaries adjusted, that Julius was not informed of them until he found himself called upon to appear as a public delinquent, and his authority openly opposed throughout the whole Christian world. Such a decided instance of disobedience to the supreme head of the church would, at any other time, have moved the indignation of the pontiff, but as it occurred at a moment when his mind was already agitated with his misfortunes, it almost overwhelmed him, and a severe indisposition had nearly completed the wishes of his enemies. This council did not, however, open under the happiest auspices. The appearance of seven cardinals and a few bishops formed a very inadequate representation of the Christian church; and the clergy of the city of Pisa not only refused to take any part in the deliberations of the assembly, but even to allow them the implements for celebrating mass, and closed the doors of the cathedral against them. Nor were the inhabitants of Pisa less dissatisfied, that the Florentines had subjected their city to the disgrace and danger which were likely to be the result of this measure; and in a contest which took place between them and the French troops, on the bridge of the Arno, the French commander, Lautrec, who had been appointed to protect the council, would in all probability have lost his life, had he not been preserved by the courage and the promptitude of his son.* A sudden terror struck the assembled ecclesiastics, who began to suspect that they might be betrayed by the inhabitants and delivered up to the pontiff. They therefore quitted the city of Pisa, within the space of fifteen days from the time of their meeting,† and repaired to Milan; where,

* Jovii, Vita Leonis X. lib. ii. p. 36.
† Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 559.

under the immediate protection of the French monarch, they constituted themselves a legal assembly, and began to issue their decrees.

No sooner was the health of the pope in some degree restored, than he took the most effectual steps to obviate the ill effects of this alarming opposition. He appointed a general council of the church to be held at Rome in the course of the ensuing year, and he admonished the refractory cardinals to return to their duty within sixty-five days, under pain of the deprivation of their dignities and forfeiture of their ecclesiastical revenues. By the most earnest representations to Ferdinand of Aragon, and the grant to him of the tenths of the clergy throughout his dominions, he prevailed upon that monarch to unite with him and the Venetians in a treaty for the defence of the church. For the purpose of giving greater credit to this alliance, it was denominated *the holy league*,* and was celebrated at Rome with great rejoicings. The king of Aragon agreed to furnish twelve hundred men at arms, and ten thousand foot, under the command of Don Raymond de Cardona, viceroy of Naples, with a train of artillery and eleven galleys of war; the pope, six hundred men at arms, and the Venetians, their whole forces by land and sea. The influence which Ferdinand possessed with his son-in-law, Henry VIII. of England, and the promise of the assistance of the allies in acquiring for that young and ambitious prince the province of Guienne, induced him to become a party in this alliance, and another treaty for this purpose was signed at London, by Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, on behalf of Henry, on the seventeenth day of November, which was confirmed by Ferdinand at Burgos on the twentieth day of December, 1511.[200] In addition to these formidable preparations, Julius again took into his service a large body of Swiss, for the purpose of making a descent into the Milanese, whilst the pope and his allies were to engage the attention of the French in other parts of Italy, and Henry VIII. was to send an army into Guienne. On this occasion the Swiss mercenaries carried the celebrated standard which had often been the terror of

* Lünig. Cod. Ital Diplomat. vol. ii. p. 798.

their enemies, and on which was inscribed in letters of gold, DONATORES PRINCIPUM. AMOTORES JUSTICIÆ. DEFENSORES SANCTÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIÆ. An inscription, the tenour of which they were not, however, at all times sufficiently careful to observe.

The conduct of the Florentine republic, in permitting the pretended council of the church to assemble in Pisa, had subjected the magistrates, and particularly the *gonfaloniere*, Pietro Soderini, to the resentment of the pontiff, who resolved to avail himself of the first opportunity of punishing with due severity so heinous an offence. The most effectual method which occurred to him for this purpose, as well as to secure the city in future to his own interests, was to restore the family of Medici to their former authority in that place. During all the vexation and dangers which the pontiff had experienced, the cardinal de' Medici had adhered to him with constant fidelity, and had obtained his confidence in an eminent degree. In selecting, at this important crisis, a fit person to superintend the papal army, and to direct the operations of the war, the choice of the pontiff fell on the cardinal, who was invested with the supreme command under the title of legate of Bologna.[201] At the same time, in order to stimulate the exertions of the cardinal, and to punish the Florentines for the part which they had taken, it was understood, that on the expulsion of the French from Bologna and other parts of the dominions of the church, the cardinal should be allowed to make use of the forces under his command for the re-establishment of his authority in Florence. Already the friends and relations of the Medici within the city had opposed themselves to the party of the *gonfaloniere* with great boldness. A conspiracy was formed against his life, which is attributed, but without any authentic evidence, to the machinations of the pope and the cardinal de' Medici. Principalle della Stufa, the principal agent in the transaction, was apprehended within the city, but such was the indifference of the people to the safety of their chief magistrate, or the reluctance of Soderini to exert his declining authority, that Principalle was suffered to escape with only a sentence of banishment pronounced against him.* Alarmed at these

* Comment. di Nerli, lib. v. p. 104.

indications, Soderini endeavoured to prevail on the Florentines to espouse the cause of Louis XII. and to take a decided part in the approaching contest; but in this his efforts were frustrated by the more prudent counsels of his fellow-magistrates, who judged it highly inexpedient to risk their political existence on the event. A temporizing line of conduct was therefore resolved upon, as most suitable to the situation and resources of the republic; and the celebrated historian, Guicciardini, was, on this occasion, despatched as ambassador to the king of Spain, although he was then so young as to be disqualified by the laws of the republic from exercising any office of public trust. These measures, instead of satisfying any of the contending parties, gave offence to all, and the Florentine envoy seems sufficiently to have felt the difficulties of the task imposed upon him.*

Whilst the pope, the Venetians, and the king of Aragon, were thus combining their efforts for the purpose of expelling the French from Italy, the celebrated Gaston de Foix, nephew to Louis XII., then only twenty-three years of age, had assumed the command of his countrymen, and given early proofs of his courage and military talents. He did not, however, wholly rely upon these qualifications for the success of his enterprises. Scarcely had the Swiss made their appearance in the states of Milan, than he found means to open a treaty with them, and by the timely application of a large sum of money to their commander and other principal leaders, prevailed upon these adventurers, who carried on war only as a matter of trade, to return once more across the Alps.† After having thus secured the states of Milan, he proceeded to the relief of Bologna, the siege of which had been commenced by the allied army on the twenty-sixth day of January, 1512. The supreme direction of the papal troops was on this occasion intrusted to the cardinal de' Medici, as legate of Bologna, under whom Marc-Antonio Colonna acted as general of the church. The Spaniards were led by Don Raymond de Cardona, assisted by Fabrizio Colonna and Pietro Navarro. The Bentivoli within the walls were also encompassed by powerful adherents, and a party of French

* Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 567.
† Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 72.

troops under the command of Lautrec and Ivo d'Allegri were within the city. The allies had now made their approaches in due military form, and a considerable portion of the walls was at length destroyed by the continued fire of their artillery. Whilst this open attack continued, Pietro Navarro had with great assiduity formed an excavation under the city for a mine of gunpowder, which he at length completed. At the appointed moment, the match was applied to the combustibles, which were intended to have laid the city in ruins. It happened, however, fortunately for the inhabitants, that these materials had been deposited under the chapel of the holy virgin *del Barracane;* so that when the explosion took place, the chapel rose up into the air, but instantly returned without injury to its former station. As the chapel adjoined the walls, the besiegers had a temporary view of the interior of the city, and of the soldiers engaged in its defence; but from this they derived little satisfaction, as the wall immediately returned to its place, and united together as if it had not been moved! Such is the grave account given of this incident by contemporary historians, which has been as gravely assented to by writers of more modern times. After so decisive a proof of the inefficacy of all further attempts, it can occasion no surprise that the French general de Foix entered the city at the head of sixteen thousand men, without the besieging army having been aware of his approach.* The allies had now no alternative but to raise the siege; after which they retreated in great haste for safety to Imola.

But whatever doubts may remain respecting the manner in which the siege of Bologna was raised, there can be no difficulty in ascertaining the causes of it, when we are informed that an open difference of opinion had subsisted between the Spanish general Cardona and the cardinal legate de' Medici; the latter of whom, wearied with the slow proceedings of the allied generals, and well acquainted with the impatient temper of the pope, endeavoured to prevail on Cardona to persevere vigorously in the attack. He lamented that so much time had been suffered to elapse without any

* Guiccíard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 573. Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 75.

impression being made on the city, of which they might then have been in possession; he entreated the Spanish general not to persist in so fatal an error; he represented to him the danger and disgrace of appearing in a hostile manner at the gates of a city, without having the courage to commence an attack; and assured him that he knew not what reply to make to the couriers who arrived daily from the pope, whom he could no longer amuse with vain expectations and empty promises. Displeased with the importunity of the legate, the Spanish general complained in his turn, that the legate, who from the nature of his education had no experience in military affairs, should by his intemperate solicitations prepare the way for rash and inconsiderate measures; that the interests of all Christendom were concerned in the event of this contest, and that too much caution could not be employed on such an occasion; that it was the custom of the pontifical see and of republican states to engage precipitately in war, but that they were soon wearied with the expense and troubles attending it, and sought to terminate it on any terms; that the legate ought in this instance to submit his opinion to that of the military commanders, who had the same objects as himself in view, with much greater experience in such concerns. The result, however, demonstrated that on this occasion the churchman was the better general; nor does it seem to have required much penetration to have discovered, that in the situation in which the allies were placed, the capture of Bologna, before the French army could arrive to its relief, was the great object towards which the assailants ought to have directed all their efforts. It was not therefore without reason that the cardinal suspected that the inactivity of the Spanish general was to be attributed to the orders of his sovereign, who, whilst he professed to be desirous of adopting decisive measures in concert with his allies, always directed the operations of his generals in such a manner as he thought most conducive to his own private interests.*

The disappointment and disgrace which the allies had experienced before Bologna were, however, in some degree

* Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 571.

counterbalanced by the successes of the Venetians, who about the same time recovered the important cities of Brescia and Bergamo, whence they proceeded to the attack of Crema; but the timely arrival of Trivulzio preserved that place to the French. On receiving information of these transactions, Gaston de Foix resolved to lose no time in repairing the losses of the French arms. Leaving, therefore, a body of four thousand foot, with a reinforcement of cavalry and archers, for the defence of Bologna, he proceeded by rapid marches towards Brescia, and having in his route defeated two bodies of the allied troops, one of them under the command of Gian-Paolo Baglione, and the other of the count Guido Rangone, he arrived in the vicinity of that city, having, as we are assured, on the last day of his march, led his cavalry fifteen Italian miles without once drawing the reins.*

On the arrival of the French general before Brescia, he found, that although the Venetians had possessed themselves of the town, they had not been able to reduce the citadel, which was yet held by the French. His first object was, therefore, to reinforce the garrison, which he effected under cover of the night, by introducing three thousand foot and four hundred dismounted cavalry. The defence of the place was intrusted by the Venetians to their commissary, Andrea Gritti, upon whom was imposed the double task of attending to the attack of the citadel and the safety of the town. He was, however, supported by a formidable body of troops. The inhabitants of the vicinity were favourable to his cause. Great numbers of them had joined his arms, and the citizens, disgusted with the severity and disorders of the French government, had avowed their determination to sacrifice their lives in the struggle, rather than be compelled to return under its dominion. The summons of the French general, who promised the inhabitants the pardon of the king on their again submitting to his arms, and threatened to sack the city in case of their refusal, produced no other answer than that they were ready to defend themselves to the last extremity. The day preceding the expected attack, the women and children were conducted to the monasteries, and all money

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 77.

and articles of value were concealed with as much privacy as possible. In the morning of the nineteenth day of February, 1512, the French garrison made an irruption from the citadel in great force, whilst de Foix led on his army to attack the ramparts. A bloody engagement ensued between the garrison and the Venetian soldiery, in the great square of the city, in which two thousand of the latter perished. Despairing of all further resistance, the count Luigi Avogadro, one of the Venetian commanders, at the head of two hundred horse, rushed through the gate of S. Nazaro, in the hopes of effecting his escape, and of this opportunity de Foix availed himself to complete the rout of the Venetians and the ruin of the inhabitants. The whole French army entered the city sword in hand, and a most dreadful and indiscriminate carnage ensued, in which upwards of eight thousand persons fell a sacrifice to that vindictive rage, which has in all ages disgracefully characterized mankind on similar occasions.[202] The Venetian commissary, Andrea Gritti, with the chief commanders within the city, were made prisoners. Luigi Avogadro being taken in his flight was put to death as a traitor, by the orders of de Foix, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity.* Enormous sums were exacted from the citizens as their ransom. For seven days the place was delivered up to the violence and rapine of the soldiery. Even the monasteries were forced and plundered; but, amidst this scene of horror and of bloodshed, the authority of de Foix is said to have been exerted in preserving the honour of the women who had resorted thither for shelter. Many of the French soldiers were executed by his orders for violating the sanctuary of the convents, and he at length gave peremptory orders that the army should quit the city and return to their encampments.

The vigour and rapidity of this young conqueror, who had in the space of fifteen days raised the siege of Bologna, defeated several detachments of the allies, and captured the city of Brescia, alarmed his enemies, and astonished all Italy. The city and district of Bermago, without waiting for the approach of the French, again raised the standard of Louis XII., and there was reason to believe that the whole conti-

* Jovii, Vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 41.

nental possessions of the Venetian republic would follow the example. Whatever might be the sensations of the senate, Julius II. displayed, however, no symptoms of dismay. On the contrary, his undaunted spirit seemed to rise with the occasion, and no measures were omitted by him which might encourage his allies, and give effect to the great design which he yet entertained of expelling the French from Italy. By the bribe of fifty thousand florins he prevailed upon the emperor elect, Maximilian, to conclude with the Venetians a treaty for ten months.* He incited Henry VIII. of England to prepare a powerful naval armament, for the purpose of attacking the coasts of Normandy and Bretagne, and he induced Ferdinand of Aragon to commence hostilities in France, by sending an army across the Pyrenees. Assailed on all sides by powerful adversaries, Louis XII. perceived that he must rely for his security on the prompt and successful efforts of his Italian troops. He therefore directed Gaston de Foix to use all his diligence to bring the allies to a definitive engagement. To such a commander little incitement was necessary; and Gaston immediately hastened to Ferrara, to determine with the duke on the measures necessary to be adopted. He had at this time under his command eighteen hundred men at arms, four thousand archers, and sixteen thousand infantry; and being joined by the duke of Ferrara, with an additional body of troops and an extensive train of artillery, he proceeded towards Romagna. The cardinal legate de' Medici and the viceroy Cardona, who were at the head of fifteen hundred men at arms, three thousand light horse, and eighteen thousand foot, retired towards the mountain of Faenza, choosing rather to harass the army of the French, and to cut off their supplies, than to risk the fate of Italy on the event of a single battle. The French general was determined, however, not to remain inactive, and directing his course towards Ravenna, he stormed in his progress the fortress of Russi, where he put to the sword not less than a thousand persons. Arriving under the walls of Ravenna, he instantly commenced the attack. The artillery of the duke of Ferrara, which was on all occasions irresistible, soon effected a breach in the walls, and the French rushed on to

* *Vide* Lünig, Cod. Ital. Diplomat. vol. ii. p. 2003.

the assault. It appeared, however, that on this occasion the vigilance of the allies had been equal to the activity of the French commander. Marc-Antonio Colonna, with a powerful body of troops, had entered the city to assist in its defence. An obstinate engagement took place on the ramparts, which continued for four hours, and in which about fifteen hundred soldiers were killed; but notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the assailants, they were at length obliged to relinquish the attempt.*

But although the French general had failed for the present in his attack upon Ravenna, in another respect he accomplished the purpose which he had in view, by compelling the commanders of the allied army to abandon their system of procrastination, and to hasten towards that city for its more effectual relief. Whilst Gaston de Foix was rallying his soldiers to a second attack, he received intelligence of the approach of the enemy, and before he was prepared to oppose them in the field, he found that they had raised intrenchments within three miles of Ravenna. In this conjuncture, his situation was critical. To persist in the siege of the city was impossible, whilst an army equal in number to his own lay ready to seize the first opportunity of a favourable attack. To assail the allies in their intrenchments, and force them to an engagement, whilst his enemies might harass him from the fortress of Ravenna, seemed almost equally inexpedient. The sufferings of the soldiers and horses, from the want of accommodation and provisions, would not, however, brook delay, and Gaston resolved, at all events, to storm the enemy in their intrenchments, and force them to an open conflict. The order of this dreadful battle, which took place on the eleventh day of April, 1512, and in which the flower of both armies was destined to perish, is described at great length both by the French and Italian historians.† Among the French commanders the most conspicuous was the cardinal Sanseverino, legate of the council of Milan, who, clad in complete armour, marched at the head of the troops, and being of a tall and imposing figure, appeared like another S. George. The cardinal de' Medici, as legate of the church, held the

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 80.

† Jovius, Guicciard., Ligue de Cambray.

chief authority in the allied army; but although in the midst of a camp, his habiliments were those of peace, and he differed no less from his brother cardinal in his mild and humane disposition, than in the pacific demonstrations of his external appearance. For the more active part of warlike operations the cardinal de' Medici was indeed in a great degree disqualified by the imperfection of his sight, but in maintaining the good order of the camp he was indefatigable, and he frequently and strenuously exhorted both the commanders and the soldiery to contend with courage and unanimity, for the protection of themselves and their possessions, the preservation of the holy see, and for the common liberties of Italy.* The Spanish troops, on which the principal reliance was placed, were led by the viceroy Cardona; the Italians by Fabrizio Colonna; and the command of the light-armed cavalry was intrusted to the young and accomplished Ferdinando Davalos, marquis of Pescara, who had lately married Vittoria, the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna, one of the fairest patterns of female excellence and conjugal affection that the world has hitherto seen.

The reputation which Pietro Navarro had acquired by his superior skill as an engineer had not only raised him to a high command in the allied army, but had given great authority to his opinion. On this occasion, he earnestly recommended that the army should remain in its intrenchments, and should trust for success in the first instance to its artillery, which he had advantageously arranged in front of their works. In this opinion he was opposed by Fabrizio Colonna, who contended, that as the French army were under the necessity of crossing the river Ronco to proceed to the attack, it would be more advisable to oppose them as they approached in detached bodies, than to wait till the whole army had formed itself in order to assault the intrenchments. The advice of the Spaniard prevailed, and the French army arrived unmolested within a short distance of the allied camp. Perceiving, however, that the allies did not choose to quit their intrenchments, they formed their line, with the artillery in front, and for the space of two hours the adverse armies employed themselves in

* Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 588.

cannonading each other; in the course of which a great slaughter was made without any decisive effect being produced. In this contest the allies had, from their situation, a manifest advantage; but the duke of Ferrara, perceiving the fortune of the day inclining against the French, hastened with his artillery to their relief, and having obtained an advantageous position, which commanded the intrenchments, attacked the allies in flank with such impetuosity, that they could no longer resist his fury.* The mingled slaughter of men and of horses, who fell without an opportunity of resistance, roused the resentment of Fabrizio Colonna, who, with bitter reproaches against the Spanish generals, at length rushed from his intrenchments, and was followed by the rest of the allies. The hostile shock of these armies, each of them inflamed by national enmity, and exasperated to the highest degree by the preceding events of the war, was bloody and destructive beyond all that had been known in Italy for many years. The whole body was in immediate action. The courage of the Spanish infantry changed more than once the fortune of the day. In the declining state of the allied army, the marquis of Pescara made an impetuous attack on the wing of the enemy with the whole of the light cavalry, but was repulsed with great loss, and after a severe conflict the allies were compelled to give way, and to seek their safety by flight. All their artillery, standards, and equipage, fell into the hands of the enemy, and upwards of nine thousand of the allies lay dead on the field. The cardinal legate de' Medici, Fabrizio Colonna, the marquis of Pescara, Pietro Navarro, and many other eminent commanders, and men of high rank, were made prisoners. The viceroy Cardona effected his escape to Cesena, where he endeavoured to collect together the scattered remains of his troops. But if the Italians and Spaniards had just reason for lamentation, the French had no cause for rejoicing. The number of their slain is authentically stated to have exceeded even that of the allies, and to have amounted to no less than ten thousand five hundred men.† Among this number were the celebrated Ivo d'Alle-

* Ariosto attributes the success of the French on this occasion to the courage and conduct of the duke of Ferrara. Orl. Fur. cant. iii. st. 55.

† Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 82.

gri, who had for several years fought the battles of his sovereign in Italy, and two of his sons. The sieur de Lautrec, uncle to de Foix, and second in command, was found on the field of battle covered with wounds; from which he, however, recovered. But the greatest disaster of the French army was the death of the general in chief, the celebrated Gaston de Foix, who, burning with an insatiable thirst of slaughter, engaged, at the head of one thousand horse, in the pursuit of three thousand Spanish infantry, and in the midst of his career received a shot from a harquebus, which instantly terminated his days. The untimely fate of this young hero damped the ardour of his countrymen in the moment of victory, and his memory has seldom been adverted to, even by the Italians themselves, without the highest admiration and applause.[203] The benignant philosopher, in the recesses of his closet, may perhaps lament that such extraordinary talents were exerted, not for the benefit, but the destruction of mankind; and the generous soldier may regret, that on some occasions, this great man sullied the glory of his arms by unnecessary acts of vindictive barbarity; but it would be invidious in a modern historian to attempt to tear the laurels which have now bloomed for nearly three centuries round his tomb.

The victorious army now returned to the attack of Ravenna. Marc-Antonio Colonna, despairing of the defence of the place, withdrew his troops into the citadel, where he defended himself for four days, at the expiration of which time he quitted the city under a capitulation, by which it was agreed that he and his followers should not, for the space of three months, carry arms against the king of France or the council of Pisa.* A deputation from the inhabitants had also endeavoured to arrange with the French commander the terms of surrender; but a party of Gascons having led the way through the breach of the walls into the city, a general and indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants took place, without regard either to age or sex. Even the monasteries on this occasion afforded no shelter to the unhappy victims of brutal ferocity; until the sieur de la Palisse, on whom the

* Ligue de Camb. liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 154.

chief command of the French army had devolved, being informed of these disgraceful enormities, hastened into the city with the laudable resolution of repressing them to the utmost of his power. He first directed his steps towards a convent, into which thirty-four of his soldiers had intruded themselves by violence, and ordering his attendants to seize upon them, he had them instantly hanged through the windows.* This decisive measure was followed by a proclamation, threatening the same fate to all who should not instantly relinquish their depredations and return to their duty; and having thus restrained his soldiery, he led them again to their encampments. The cities of Imola, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, and several other places, alarmed at these disastrous events, sent deputies to testify their obedience to the king of France, and almost the whole extent of Romagna was once more occupied by his arms.

In this bloody contest, in which so many of his friends and adherents had fallen, the cardinal de' Medici gave eminent proofs of constancy and firmness of mind. Although unarmed and defenceless in the midst of the battle, he still continued to encourage his troops, and displayed an example of that patient fortitude which is perhaps more difficult than the fiercer spirit of active hostility. Even when the fate of the day was decided, he did not immediately attempt to quit the field, but devoted himself to the care of the dying, and to the administration of that spiritual comfort, which consoled the last moments of life by the animating hopes of immortality.† Whilst engaged in the performance of these duties, he was seized upon by two horsemen, who, regardless of his high dignity, were proceeding to treat him with insult; but from their hands he was rescued by the courage and promptitude of the cavalier Piatese of Bologna, who having killed one of the assailants, wounded the other and dragged him from his horse. A body of Greek cavalry in the French service soon afterwards made their appearance, and rendered all further resistance on the part of the cardinal fruitless. By them he was delivered over to Federigo Gonzaga of Bozzolo, to whom, as to an officer of high rank and honour, he willingly surren-

* Murat. Ann. d'Ital. vol. x. p. 83. † Brand. Leo. p. 85.

dered himself.* Being transferred by Gonzaga to the custody of the cardinal Sanseverino, he was received by that warlike prelate with all the kindness and attention which the equality of their rank and their former intimacy gave him a right to expect. By his indulgence the cardinal de' Medici obtained permission for his cousin Giulio, knight of Rhodes, who had fled with the viceroy Cardona, to pay him a visit under the sanction of a safe conduct. On his arrival at the French camp the cardinal de' Medici lost no time in despatching him to the pope, under the pretext of recommending himself and his interests, during his imprisonment, to his holiness and to the consistory; but in fact to give them the fullest representation of the state of both armies, and of the situation of the different parties, in consequence of the important events which had of late taken place.

The intelligence of the battle of Ravenna had been conveyed to Rome within two days after it had occurred, by the vigilance of Ottaviano Fregoso, and the consternation which it occasioned had nearly induced the pope to quit the city; for which purpose he had already ordered the commander of his galleys to make preparations.† Amidst the clamours of the cardinals, who earnestly entreated him to listen to terms of peace, and the instigations of the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors, who with equal warmth exhorted him to persevere in hostilities, Giulio de' Medici arrived, and by the full information which he brought, relieved in a great degree the apprehensions of the pontiff. He was immediately introduced into a full consistory, where he represented to the assembled ecclesiastics the debilitated state of the French army; the number of able commanders of whom it had been deprived, and of soldiers who were disabled by their wounds from immediate service. He informed them that the sacking of Ravenna had contributed to relax the discipline of the French army; the commanders of which appeared to be undetermined what course they should take, and waited for directions from the king; that jealousies had arisen between la Palisse and the cardinal Sanseverino, who wished to unite in himself the offices of both legate and general; that rumours were frequent

* Jovii in Vita Leon. lib. ii. p. 46. Ammirato, vol. x. p. 69.
† Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 594.

in the French camp of the approach of the Swiss, and that, under all these circumstances, no immediate danger was to be apprehended from the further progress of the French. These representations were well founded. The battle of Ravenna was, in every point of view, more fatal to the French than to the allies. The resistance which they had met with had diminished that confidence in their superior courage, which had on many occasions contributed to their victories. Their favourite leaders had fallen, and the prime of their soldiery, the vigour and nerve of their army, was destroyed. From this fatal day the affairs of the French king began rapidly to decline, and the victory of Ravenna prepared the way for the total expulsion of his arms from Italy.

From the vicinity of Ravenna the cardinal de' Medici was conveyed to Bologna, where he was received by the Bentivoli, the ancient friends of his family, with such kindness as left him nothing to regret but the loss of his liberty. He was soon afterwards transferred, in company with many other noble prisoners, from Bologna to Milan; whence they were to be sent by the orders of Louis XII. into France. On passing through the city of Modena he experienced the friendship and liberality of Bianca Rangone, one of the daughters of Giovanni Bentivolio, who deprived herself of her ornaments and jewels, to enable him to provide for his wants during his imprisonment.* That generosity for which she exacted no return was, however, repaid some time afterwards with ample interest, and the grateful munificence which she herself experienced, and the elevation of her sons to the chief offices of the Roman state, were the result of her disinterested bounty.

On his arrival at Milan he was allowed to reside with the cardinal Sanseverino, and was frequently visited by the chief nobility of the place, the Visconti, Trivulzi, and Pallavicini, by whom he was treated with no less respect than if, instead of a prisoner, he had arrived there as a conqueror and a friend.† At this place he found that the self-constituted council of the church continued its meetings with great formality. The late

* Jovius, in Vita Leon. X. *et vide* Bandello Nov. vol. ii. Nov. 34, *et* Tirab. vii. par. i. p. 83.

† Jovius, in Vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 48.

victories of the French had given additional importance to its proceedings and frequent publications were made at the doors of the great church for Julius II. to appear and defend his cause. Whatever anxiety these measures might produce at Rome, they only excited the derision of the populace at Milan, who were accustomed to salute the cardinal Carvajal, as he passed through the streets, by the appellation of *papa*, in allusion to the expectation which he was supposed to entertain of filling the pontifical chair on the deprivation of Julius II. Nor could all the efforts of the soldiery preserve the associated prelates and ecclesiastics from similar proofs of disapprobation. The prudent conduct of the cardinal de' Medici, who, notwithstanding his misfortunes, supported the dignity of his rank and the authority of the apostolic see, contributed still further to diminish their influence and discredit their proceedings. By the conveyance of his cousin Giulio de' Medici, he received from the pontiff a plenary power of absolving from their offences all those who, in obedience to the commands of their king, had taken arms against the church. No sooner was his commission made public than he was surrounded by crowds of suppliants, eager to obtain from its legitimate fountain a portion of that healing water which could obliterate all their stains. Such was the thirst of the soldiery for this spiritual refreshment, that even the threats of the council were ineffectual to prevent their resorting to the cardinal; and the city of Milan on this occasion exhibited the singular spectacle of a prisoner absolving his enemies from the very crime that had been the cause of his imprisonment, and distributing his pardon to those, who instead of manifesting any substantial symptoms of repentance, demonstrated, even by their detention of him, that they yet persevered in their sins.

CHAPTER IX.

1512—1513.

Julius II. opens the council of the Lateran—Louis XII. is desirous of a reconciliation with the pope—Is deluded by him—Expulsion of the French from Italy—The cardinal de' Medici obtains his liberty—Bologna restored to the Roman see—The Colonna release the duke of Ferrara from his dangerous situation at Rome—Ariosto ambassador from the duke to the pope—Diet of Mantua—The Medici attempt to effect their restoration—The Florentines resolve to defend themselves—Indecision of Pietro Soderini—He escapes into the Turkish dominions—Restoration of the Medici to Florence—Extinction of the popular government—Restoration of Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan—Measures adopted by the Medici to secure their power—Conspiracy against them discovered—Death of Julius II.—His character and conduct considered—His encouragement of learning—Elegant library formed by him—Letter from Bembo to the pope on the revival of abbreviated or short-hand writing.

The information brought to Rome by Giulio de' Medici of the disabled state of the French army was daily confirmed by further accounts, which effectually relieved the mind of the pope from the apprehensions which he had at first entertained. Julius II. easily perceived, that if the French were unable to reap the promised fruits of their victory, they would soon be obliged to act on the defensive, and his deliberations on this subject inspired him with fresh hopes that he should soon see his *desires* accomplished in their *total* expulsion *from* Italy. In the mean time he resolved to counteract the dangerous effects of the assembly at Milan, which was now usually denominated the *conciliabulum*, by opening a general council in the church of S. John Lateran; which he accordingly did with great solemnity, on the third day of May, in the year 1512. On this occasion he presided in person, accompanied by the college of cardinals, and such other dignified ecclesiastics as were then in Rome. Several of the Italian princes

and nobles of high rank also attended the assembly; and the emperor elect, Maximilian, the kings of England and of Aragon, the republic of Venice, and most of the Italian states, declared by their ambassadors their abhorrence of the council of Milan, and their faithful adherence to that of the Lateran, as the only true and legitimate representation of the Christian church.[204]

The directions given by Louis XII. to his general, la Palisse, were to follow up the advantages obtained by the victory of Ravenna, and to proceed immediately to Rome; but a more accurate estimate of the situation of his army induced him to countermand these orders; and the French troops, in fact, soon found sufficient employment in opposing the increasing power of the allies. At the same time Louis began to entertain serious apprehensions for the safety of his own dominions. Henry VIII. had already notified to him, that the treaties of amity which subsisted between them were accompanied by a condition that he should not make war against either the pope or the king of Aragon; and that the infraction of this article would be considered as the commencement of hostilities. The first information which Ferdinand of Aragon is said to have received of the defeat of his troops at Ravenna was by a letter to his young queen from her uncle Louis XII., in which he endeavoured to console her for the loss of her brother, the gallant Gaston de Foix, by informing her that he died with great glory in the moment of victory.* With whatever emotions she received this intelligence, it was a sufficient admonition to Ferdinand to send new reinforcements to his kingdom of Naples, which he feared might be endangered by the rapid successes of the French; and it is said that on this occasion he had intended to have once more availed himself of the services of the great Gonsalvo. The emperor elect, Maximilian, had now accommodated his differences with the Venetians, and decidedly espoused the cause of the pope; for which he expected his reward in the possession of the states of Milan and the duchy of Burgundy. Alarmed by these numerous and powerful adversaries, Louis XII. began to conceive that the best use

* Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 597.

which he could make of the recent successes of his arms, would be to effect a reconciliation with the pontiff with as little delay as possible.

In the fluctuating politics of these times, negotiations were always carried on even in the midst of hostilities, and might in truth be considered as another mode of warfare, in which superior talents and sagacity were often employed to make amends for want of success, or inferiority of military strength. Whilst the conflict took place before the walls of Ravenna, a treaty was depending between Louis XII. and the pope, in which it had, among other articles, been proposed, that Bologna should be restored to the holy see; that the duke of Ferrara, on being absolved from spiritual censures, should relinquish the places of which he had possessed himself in Romagna; and that the council of Milan should be dissolved; the cardinals and prelates who had adhered to it, not being prejudiced in their dignities or their revenues. This treaty, the conditions of which were so favourable to Julius II., had been transmitted to Rome for his final approbation and signature; and having, as he conceived, thus in his power the choice of peace or of war, he had for some time postponed his decision, in the hopes that events might occur which might enable him to obtain still better terms. The defeat of his arms at Ravenna called for an immediate determination; and although he had already begun to recover from his panic, yet he thought it advisable to confirm the treaty nine days after he had received intelligence of that event. So far was he, however, from intending to adhere with fidelity to his engagement, or so fearful was he of giving offence to his allies, that he immediately afterwards called into his presence the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors, and assured them that his intentions with respect to the prosecution of the war were in no degree altered; and that he had only taken this measure to gain time, and impose upon the king;* an assurance which in the result was amply confirmed. The successes of the French arms in Italy had at first operated as a powerful motive with Louis XII., who was not less ready than the pope to

* Bembo, Ist. Ven. lib. xii. in Op. vol. i. p. 332.

take advantage of any change of circumstances in his favour, to disavow his former propositions; and he particularly objected to the restoration of Bologna, which he affected to consider as the bulwark of his Milanese possessions against the southern provinces of Italy. The intelligence which he daily received of the rapid decline of his cause, and the formidable attacks with which he was threatened by the other powers of Europe, contributed, however, to remove his objections, and he thought proper to avail himself of an offer made by the Florentines to interpose their good offices for effecting a reconciliation. A meeting accordingly took place in Florence between the envoys of the king and those of the pontiff, where the conditions of the treaty were assented to, with some modifications, on the part of Louis XII., which did not affect the substantial articles of the agreement. Julius II. was now, however, well aware of the debilitated state of his adversary. Whilst the negotiations were depending, he had engaged in his service a considerable body of Swiss mercenaries, and the hesitation shewn on the part of Louis XII. had afforded him a sufficient pretext for refusing to confirm the treaty. In order, however, to justify himself to the world, he directed that the terms proposed should be read in open consistory, that the cardinals might offer their opinions on the measures which it might be expedient for him to pursue. On this occasion Christopher Bambridge, cardinal of York, in the name of the king of England, and the cardinal Arborense, in that of the king of Spain, exhorted the pope, as it is supposed had previously been agreed on between them, not to abandon the cause of the church, but to persevere with firmness in opposing the arms of the French. Instead therefore of testifying his assent to the treaty, Julius avowed his determination to prosecute the war, and pronounced, in the consistory, a monitory to the king of France to release his prisoner the cardinal de' Medici, under the penalties contained in the sacred canons. A measure so decidedly hostile was, however, warmly opposed by the other members of the college, who entreated the pope that he would not, by such severity, wholly alienate the mind of the king, but would postpone the publication of the monitory, and allow them to address to him a letter, signed by themselves

individually, requesting him, as a sovereign bearing the title of the *most Christian* prince, to restore to liberty their captive brother.* To this proposal Julius with some difficulty assented; but fortunately for the cardinal de' Medici, he had no occasion to rely on the clemency of the king, who, notwithstanding he is represented by the French historians as "the best of monarchs," had given frequent proofs, that his resentment was as implacable in peace, as his cruelty was unsparing in war.[205]

At this critical juncture, information was received of the approach through the Tyrol of a large body of Swiss in the service of the pontiff. The number for which he had agreed was six thousand; but on this occasion they were stimulated, not only by the certainty of pay and the hopes of plunder, but by their resentment against Louis XII., who, as they were led to believe, had undervalued their courage and despised their services; and on their arrival in Italy their number was found to be no less than eighteen thousand. Descending into the territory of Verona, they were joined by the Venetian and papal troops; the former under the command of Gian Paolo Baglioni, the latter under that of the duke of Urbino; and forming in the whole an army of upwards of thirty thousand men.† La Palisse had attempted to fortify himself in Valeggio, but finding the place too weak for defence, and being unable to contend with such superior numbers, he distributed a great part of his troops in the strong garrisons of Crema, Brescia, and Bergamo; and with the remainder, consisting only of seven hundred lances, two thousand French infantry, and four thousand Germans, retired to Pontevico, a place of considerable strength, and well situated for maintaining a communication between the last-mentioned cities and the territory of Milan.‡ On the morning after his arrival at this place, an order was received from the emperor elect, Maximilian, that the imperial soldiers in the pay of the king of France should instantly withdraw from his service. These troops, which were chiefly composed of Tyrolese, willing to shew a ready obedience to their sovereign, and perhaps glad to abandon the declining cause

* Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 598. † Murat. vol. x. p. 84.
‡ Guicciard. lib. x. vol. i. p. 601.

of the French, departed on the same day from the camp, and thereby occasioned the total ruin of their late allies. From Pontevico, la Palisse retreated to Pavia; but being closely pursued by his adversaries, who had prepared their artillery for an attack, he suddenly quitted that place and took the road to Asti. This was the final relinquishment of all attempts on the part of the French to maintain their conquests in Italy. The inhabitants of Milan, exasperated at the restless tyranny of their rulers, had already expelled them from the city, and terminated the proceedings of the *conciliabulum* at the very moment when it had passed a decree for suspending the pope from the exercise of his functions. No sooner were the inhabitants of Lombardy freed from the apprehensions of the French army, than their hatred burst forth in acts of violence and revenge. All the French soldiers and merchants found in Milan, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred persons, were indiscriminately slaughtered. In other towns of the Milanese similar massacres occurred. Even whilst the French soldiery were retreating towards the Alps, they were pursued and harassed by the peasantry; who destroyed without mercy such as from incaution, or infirmity, were found at a distance from the main body.*

On quitting the city of Milan, the French cardinals had brought along with them, by the express orders of Louis XII., the cardinal legate de' Medici; but the important change which had taken place in the affairs of Italy, and the hurry and confusion which prevailed among the retreating party, soon suggested to him the practicability of an escape. They had already arrived at the banks of the Po, and were preparing to cross the stream, when the cardinal, pretending to be sick, was allowed to repose during the night at the *pieve* or rectory of Cairo. Having thus obtained a favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose, he communicated his intentions to the abate Bengallo, who had attended on him with great fidelity, requesting him to use his endeavours to influence some person of rank or authority in the vicinity to afford him a temporary refuge. The request of Bengallo was fortunately made to Rinaldo Zazzi, a man of family,

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 86.

who had exercised in his youth the profession of arms, and was considered as the chief person in the district. His entreaties, which he is said to have urged with tears, might, however, have failed of their effect, had they not been accompanied by a favourable concurrence of circumstances. The memory of Lorenzo de' Medici, who had so long been the pacificator of Italy, and the importance of whose loss had been so fully shewn, was yet fresh in the public mind, and induced a favourable disposition towards his family. Nor was the cardinal himself known by any other qualities than such as conciliated esteem and respect. Such are the motives to which Jovius has attributed the compliance of Rinaldo; but to these he might have added the declining state of the French cause, which, whilst it rendered the fugitives more earnest to effect their own escape than to prevent that of the cardinal, at the same time encouraged the efforts of their opponents. The consent of Rinaldo was, however, obtained only upon condition that Isimbardi, another person of some importance in the neighbourhood, and of an opposite party to Rinaldo, would also assent to the measure. Isimbardi, though with great reluctance, was at length prevailed upon to afford his assistance; and by the concurrence of these new and unexpected friends, a small party of the inhabitants was secretly armed, for the purpose of rescuing the cardinal from his conductors. No sooner were the necessary preparations made, than information of them was despatched by Rinaldo to the abate; but even then, the attempt had nearly miscarried, by a mistake of the messenger, who meeting with another ecclesiastic of the same rank as Bengallo, was on the point of communicating to him the purport of his errand before he was aware of his error. The French detachment, among whom was the cardinal, were now preparing to embark, but some pretext was still found by him for delay, and he was among the last who arrived at the banks of the river. Mounted on his mule, he had now reached the side of the vessel, when a sudden tumult, raised by Rinaldo and his followers, afforded him a pretext for turning about, as if to see from what cause it arose. In a moment he found himself encircled by his friends, who, without much difficulty, or any bloodshed, repelled the efforts of those who attempted to pre-

vent his escape. Thus happily liberated, the cardinal now assumed the habit of a common soldier, and passing the Po by night, arrived at the castle of Bernardo Malespina, a relation of Isimbardi. He had here to encounter new dangers. Bernardo was of the French faction, and the recommendations of Isimbardi lost their effect. The cardinal was thrust into a dovehouse and closely guarded, whilst a messenger was despatched by Malespina to the French general Trivulzio, to inform him of the illustrious fugitive who had fallen into his hands, and to request directions in what manner he should dispose of him. Trivulzio, though in the service of France, was by birth and disposition an Italian. He saw that the cause of the French was ruined, and was unwilling to aggravate the misfortunes of his countryman; and by his recommendation, or connivance, the cardinal was once more restored to liberty. Arriving at Voghiera, he met with a priest who supplied him with horses, with which he hastened to Piacenza, where he first found himself in a place of safety. He soon afterwards repassed the Po and proceeded to Mantua, at which city he was received with great kindness by the marquis Francesco Gonzaga, whom he accompanied to his villa of Anda, where he speedily recovered from the effects of his fatigues.[206]

The sudden retreat of the French army from Italy had left little more to be done by the allies than to divide amongst themselves the territories which had thus been abandoned to their fate. The fortresses of Brescia, Cremona, and a few smaller places, were yet held by the French; but the cities of Romagna once more avowed their allegiance to the pope. The states of Parma and Piacenza, which were claimed by the pontiff as part of the exarchate of Ravenna, also submitted to his authority; and, if we may judge from the expression of the public voice on this occasion, the satisfaction of the inhabitants was not less than that of the pope, who had reunited these important domains to the territories of the church.[207] The duke of Urbino, at the head of a powerful body of troops, summoned Bologna to surrender. The Bentivoli, deprived of all hopes of succour, thought themselves sufficiently fortunate to effect their escape, and on the tenth day of June, 1512, the city capitulated to the papal arms.

To such a degree was the pope exasperated against the inhabitants, who had opposed his authority, torn down his statue, and treated his name with contempt, that he subjected them to grievous fines, and deprived them of many of their privileges, threatening even to demolish the place, and remove the inhabitants to Cento. The return of the cardinal de' Medici, who soon afterwards assumed the government as legate of the district, allayed the apprehensions of the populace, and restored the tranquillity of the city. The *fuorusciti*, or refugees, who had been expelled on account of their adherence to the pope, returned at the same time; and as the victorious party expressed their joy, whilst the friends of the Bentivoli were obliged to repress their vexation, the whole city seemed to resound only with acclamations and applause.

Although the celebrated Italian commander, Fabrizio Colonna, had been made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, he was more fortunate than the cardinal de' Medici, having fallen into the hands of Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, who knew his worth, and treated him with the respect due to his high and unimpeachable character. Louis XII. had at different times requested that Fabrizio might be delivered over to his generals, to be transferred to France; but the duke found reasons to excuse his non-compliance, till the total expulsion of the French from Italy enabled him to gratify the generosity of his own disposition, by freely restoring his captive to liberty. The bloody contest in which the duke had been compelled to take so active a part, being now terminated, he became desirous of obtaining a reconciliation with the pope, and an absolution from the spiritual censures under which he yet laboured; and as Fabrizio, on quitting Ferrara, had returned to Rome, the duke availed himself of his services to discover the disposition of the pope, as to the terms on which he would concede his pardon. Julius expressed no great reluctance in complying with the wishes of the duke, but suggested, that some important arrangements were previously requisite, for which reason his presence would be necessary in Rome. A safe conduct was accordingly granted by the pope; and the Spanish ambassador, in the name of his sovereign, also pledged himself to the duke for his secure

return. In the month of June, 1512, he quitted his capital, and on his arrival at Rome was admitted into the consistory, where he humbly requested pardon for having borne arms against the holy see; entreating to be restored to favour, and promising to conduct himself in future as a faithful son and feudatory of the church. Julius received him with apparent kindness, and deputed six cardinals to treat with him as to the terms of the proposed reconciliation; but the surprise of the duke may be well conceived when the ecclesiastics proposed to him that he should divest himself of the territory of Ferrara, which he had derived through a long train of illustrious ancestors, and should accept as a compensation the remote and unimportant city of Asti, to which the pope had of late asserted some pretensions. Of all his family there was no one less likely than Alfonso to have submitted to such a disgrace; but his astonishment was converted into indignation, on hearing, that whilst he was humbly suing for pardon at Rome, the duke of Urbino, at the head of the papal troops, had entered his dominions, and had occupied not only all such parts of Romagna as had been united with the duchy of Ferrara, but the towns of Cento, Brescello, Carpi, and Finale; and had even prevailed upon the inhabitants of the important city of Reggio to admit him within their walls. The design of the pope in requesting the presence of the duke in Rome, if not already sufficiently apparent, was further manifested by his refusal to allow him to quit the city and return to his own dominions. To no purpose did the Spanish ambassador and the nobles of the family of Colonna, some of whom were closely connected by affinity with the pope, intercede with him for the strict and honourable performance of his engagement. Julius answered their remonstrances only by reproaches and threats. Convinced of his perfidious intentions, and anxious for the preservation of their own honour, Fabrizio and Marc-Antonio Colonna resolved to rescue the duke from the danger to which he was exposed. Having, therefore, selected a small band of their confidential adherents, Fabrizio rode at their head towards the gate of S. John Lateran, followed at a short distance by the duke and Marc-Antonio; but, to his surprise, he found the gates more strongly guarded than usual, and

his further progress opposed. It was now, however, too late to retreat, and directing his followers to effect a passage by force, he conducted the duke in safety to the fortress of the Colonna family at Marino. The protection of the duke was now intrusted to Prospero Colonna, who secretly conducted him through various parts of Italy; but so diligently were they pursued by the emissaries of the pope, that the duke was frequently obliged to change his disguise, and after having for upwards of three months appeared in the successive characters of a soldier, a cook, a hunter, and a monk, he had the good fortune to arrive in safety at Ferrara.* If, amidst the long catalogue of treachery and of crimes, it be pleasant to record a generous action, it is doubly so to find that such action met with a grateful return.

The vexation and resentment which the pope manifested on this occasion were extreme; and the duke was not without apprehensions that he might have sufficient influence with the allies, to induce them to turn their arms against Ferrara. He determined, therefore, if possible, to mitigate his anger by a respectful and submissive embassy; but such was the well-known character of the pontiff, that he found it difficult to prevail on any of his courtiers to undertake the task. At length he fixed upon the poet Ariosto for this purpose, who, preferring the will of his prince to his own safety, hastened to Rome. On his arrival he found that the pope had quitted the city, and retired to a villa in the vicinity. To this place Ariosto followed him; but, on being admitted into the presence of his holiness, he soon discovered that the only chance which he had for his life was to save himself by flight;† the ferocious pontiff having threatened, that if he did not instantly quit the place, he would have him thrown into the sea.‡ The poet was happy to avail himself of the safer alternative, and returned with all possible expedition to Ferrara, to relate the result of his embassy to the duke.§

Shortly afterwards a diet was held at Mantua, for the purpose, real or ostensible, of securing the peace of Italy, at

* Jovius, in Vita Alfonsi, p. 178. Sardi, lib. xii. p. 226.
† Mazzuchelli, vol. ii. p. 1063.
‡ Tirab. vol. vii. par. 3, p. 101.
§ To this embassy Ariosto himself alludes in his second Satire.

which Matteo Langio, cardinal of Gurck, attended with full powers on behalf of the emperor elect, Maximilian. The envoy of Julius II. on this occasion was Bernardo da Bibbiena, the intimate friend and faithful adherent of the cardinal de' Medici. Giuliano de' Medici also appeared at this meeting, for the express purpose of obtaining the support of the diet in restoring the Medici to Florence.* The conduct of the Florentines, and particularly of the Gonfaloniere Soderini, had already excited in a high degree the resentment of Julius II. The part which they had acted during the late war, in which, under the plea of a treaty with Louis XII., they had supplied him both with money and troops, had been aggravated by the permission granted to the refractory cardinals to hold their council at Pisa. In order effectually to destroy the influence of the French in Italy, a change in the government of Florence was regarded as indispensably necessary. The pope had already sent to Florence his datary, Lorenzo Pucci, a native of that place,† who having many friends, and great influence there, endeavoured to promulgate opinions adverse to the ruling party; insinuating that it was now become necessary, not only to detach the city from its connection with France, but to remove Soderini from his office of Gonfaloniere, and call back the Medici to their former authority. These practices had, however, failed of success, and the agent of the pope had been compelled to quit the city.‡ The diet of Mantua afforded the pontiff a more favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose. Giovan-Vittorio Soderini, brother of the Gonfaloniere, who attended at this meeting as envoy of the Florentines, endeavoured to justify the conduct of the republic, by alleging, that in assisting the French to defend their Milanese possessions, they were acting under a particular convention, which obliged them to that measure, in the same manner as they had also stipulated to defend the Neapolitan dominions of the king of Spain; but arguments of this kind were of little avail. Jovius, who appears not to have been unacquainted with political intrigue, attributes the failure of these representations to the sordid avarice of the Florentine envoy, who

* Guicciard. vol. xi. pp. 2, 8. † Afterwards cardinal.
‡ Nerli, Comment. lib. v. p. 106. Guicciard.

ought to have enforced them by the offer of a considerable sum of money to his brother negotiators.* Those who, like Jovius, judge of others from themselves, may frequently be in the right; but the overthrow of the Gonfaloniere was already resolved upon, and on this occasion it may well be doubted whether even that powerful lenitive would have softened the severity of his fate.

No sooner had their envoy quitted the diet than the Florentines were declared to be enemies of the league, and the Spanish forces, under the command of Cardona, were directed to assist in restoring the Medici to their native place. The duke of Urbino, then at the head of the papal troops, actuated either by partiality to the cause of the French, of which he had frequently been suspected, or by envy and ill will to the cardinal de' Medici, refused either to take an active part, or to grant the use of his artillery on this occasion; nor would he even consent that such of his troops as were commanded by the Vitelli and by the Orsini, the near relations of the Medici, should join in the attempt.† These commanders, however, quitted his camp, and joined the allied army in person. Having, on the ninth of August, 1512, passed the Apennines, Cardonna arrived at Baberino, accompanied by the cardinal de' Medici, under the title of legate of Tuscany; and proceeded from thence by the Valdemarina to the plain of Prato.‡ They were met in their progress by ambassadors from the magistrates of Florence, who requested to be informed of the object of the league; professing themselves willing to comply with it to the utmost of their power, and representing in the strongest terms their adherence to his Catholic majesty, and the advantages which he might expect from their services. To this the viceroy replied, that his appearance there was not merely in consequence of the directions of his sovereign, but was a measure which had been resolved on at the general diet at Mantua, for the common security of Italy, and that whilst the Gonfaloniere, Soderini, continued to preside in the Florentine state, the rest of Italy could have no assurance that the republic would not, when an opportunity again occurred, attach itself to the interests of

* Jovius. † Ibid. Guicciard.

‡ Nerli, lib. v. p. 107.

France. He therefore required, in the name of the league, that the Gonfaloniere should be deprived of his office, and that a new form of government should be substituted, which might enjoy the confidence of the allied powers; a measure that could not, however, be effected without the restoration of the Medici to their former privileges and rights.

These propositions gave rise in Florence to violent dissensions and debates; but before a definitive answer was returned, the Gonfaloniere called together the *Consiglio maggiore*, or general assembly of the citizens, whom he addressed in an energetic and affecting harangue. He represented to the assembly the principal transactions which had occurred for the space of ten years, during which he had enjoyed his office, and freely offered his services, his possessions, and his life, for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, and the preservation of their liberties. He professed himself willing, at any moment, to relinquish his authority to those who had so long intrusted him with it, should it, in their opinion, be likely to conduce to the general good; but he entreated them to be cautious, lest the measures which were avowedly directed against himself, should in the event subject the republic to an absolute and tyrannical authority, in comparison with which, the subordination in which they were held by Lorenzo the Magnificent might be considered as an age of gold. The oration of Soderini had a most powerful effect.* The assembly resolved, that the established form of their government should still be maintained; that the Medici should be allowed to return as private citizens, but that the Gonfaloniere should not be removed from his office; and that if the commanders of the allied army should persist in this demand, they would defend their liberties and their country to the last extremity.

The first apprehensions of the Florentines were for the town of Prato, about ten miles from Florence, the garrison of which they reinforced with two thousand soldiers, hastily collected, and one hundred lances, under the command of Luca Savello, who had grown old in arms without having acquired either experience or reputation. To these was also

* The oration is given by Guicciard. lib. xi. pp. 2, 11.

added a body of Florentine troops, which, after having been attacked and dispersed by the papal army in Lombardy, had again assembled under their leaders. The army of the viceroy consisted of five thousand experienced and well-disciplined foot soldiers, and two hundred men at arms, but they were ill supplied with ammunition and artillery, and even with the necessary articles of subsistence; insomuch that their commander began to entertain serious apprehensions that he should not long be able to maintain his position. He, therefore, proposed to the Florentine magistrates to withdraw his troops, without insisting on the deposition of the Gonfaloniere, if they would admit the Medici into the city as private inhabitants, and pay to him such a sum of money as should be agreed on, but which should not exceed thirty thousand ducats. For the further negotiation of this treaty, he granted a safe conduct to the Florentine envoys, and proposed to refrain from his projected attack on the town of Prato, if the Florentines would send to his camp a temporary supply of provisions. This was one of those critical moments on which the fate of a people sometimes depends. Notwithstanding the resolutions of the general assembly, many of the principal citizens earnestly entreated the Gonfaloniere to conclude the negotiation, and in particular to furnish the approaching army with the proposed supply. Soderini hesitated; and this hesitation accomplished his ruin. In consequence of his indecision, the envoys were prevented from returning to the enemy's camp on the day which had been prescribed for that purpose. The claims of hunger admit not of long procrastination. The town of Prato, which offered a plentiful supply, was attacked with the only two pieces of artillery that accompanied the army, and which had been brought by the cardinal de' Medici from Bologna; the garrison, which consisted in the whole of upwards of four thousand men, shamefully abandoned its defence; and the Spaniards having effected a breach rushed into the town, and made an indiscriminate slaughter, as well of the inhabitants as of the soldiery. The number of those who perished is variously estimated from two to five thousand persons. The unsparing violence, licentiousness, and rapacity of the Spaniards, are displayed by all the Florentine historians in terms

of sorrow and execration;* and it is said that if the cardinal de' Medici and his brother Giuliano had not, at the risk of their lives, opposed themselves to the fury of the conquerors, these enormities would have been carried to a still greater excess.† By the exertions of the cardinal, a guard was placed at the door of the great church, whither the chief part of the females had retreated for safety;‡ but that these precautions were not always sufficient to answer the intended purpose, is evident from the instances which have been given of the magnanimous conduct of some of the women on this occasion.[208]

The intelligence of this alarming transaction was received by the Florentine envoys, as they were proceeding to the camp of the allies to conclude the negotiation; but the opportunity for reconciliation was now past, and they therefore speedily returned to Florence to apprize their fellow-citizens of the event. Though distinguished by many good qualities, the Gonfaloniere was not possessed of the courage and promptitude requisite on such an occasion. No effectual measures were yet taken for the defence of the city; and his impolitic adherence to the French had, in this emergency, left him without an ally. His helpless condition was too evident not to be perceived by the friends of the Medici within the city, who resolved not to wait the approach of the viceroy for effecting a revolution. About thirty young men of the principal families, uniting themselves in a body, entered the palace of magistracy, and seizing on the Gonfaloniere, threatened to put him to death if he did not instantly accompany them; at the same time offering him an asylum in the house of Piero Vettori, two of whose sons had engaged in the undertaking, and pledging their faith for his personal safety. Unprovided with the means of resistance, and deserted by his adherents, Soderini peaceably submitted to his fate; and the insurgents having called together the other magistrates, and obtained a solemn deposition of the Gonfaloniere, entered

* Nardi. Nerli, Comment. lib. v. p. 109. Guicciard. lib. xi.

† Jovius, lib. ii. p. 53.

‡ Guicciard. Other authors, however, affirm that no respect or mercy was shewn either to the sanctuaries of religion, or even to children in the arms. *Vide* Nardi, Murat., Ammirato.

into an immediate treaty with the viceroy.* By this act of violence, which is always adverted to by the Florentine historians with great disapprobation and regret, the free constitution of the city received its fatal wound; but it may justly be doubted whether, if such an event had not taken place, the consequences would not have been still more to be lamented. Had the allied army entered the city in an hostile manner, an absolute and severe dominion would probably have been substituted for the more moderated authority which the Medici continued to exercise for several years after their return; whilst the carnage and devastation which would have ensued might have added new horrors to the page of history, already too deeply stained with the relation of similar events.

The friends of the Medici within the city having thus accomplished their purpose, conducted Soderini on the same evening from the house of Vettoria, and sent him under a guard to Siena; to which place he was also accompanied by several of his relations and friends. Here he obtained from the pope a passport to proceed to Rome; but having been apprized by his brother, the cardinal Soderini, that Julius had a design to despoil him of his riches, which he was supposed to have amassed to a considerable amount, he hastened to Ancona, where he took shipping and proceeded to Ragusa. Being informed, soon after his arrival, that the pope had expressed great resentment against him, he quitted Ragusa, and took up his residence within the Turkish dominions.† In effecting his escape he had been assisted by Antonio di Segna, who had been sent to him by his brother to apprize him of the danger which would attend his visit to Rome. Antonio had no sooner returned to the city, than he was seized upon by the order of the pope, and committed to prison, where he was subjected to the torture, to compel him to discover the place of retreat of the Gonfaloniere, and the circumstances attending his escape. Being liberated in the course of a few days, he returned to his house, where he soon afterwards died, in consequence of the sufferings which he had undergone, leaving on the memory of Julius II. a stain

* Guicciard., Nardi.

† Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 15. Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 152.

which will present itself in strong colours, as often as his name occurs to the notice of posterity.

On the last day of August, 1512, Giuliano de' Medici entered the city of Florence, from which he had been expelled with his brothers, eighteen years before. He was accompanied by Francesco Albizi, at whose house he alighted, and where he was visited by most of the principal families in the place. On this occasion it was remarked, that many of those who had been the most forward in offering their lives and fortunes in the support of Soderini, were the most assiduous in their endeavours to secure the favourable opinion of Giuliano de' Medici.* It was not, however, until the viceroy Cardona entered the city, that the depending negotiations were finally terminated. Seating himself in the vacant chair of the Gonfaloniere, he prescribed to the magistrates the terms of the treaty on which alone he would consent to withdraw his army. His propositions, although confusedly expressed or ill understood by his reluctant hearers, who were still eager to preserve, at least, the external forms and shadows of liberty, were assented to without opposition.† In these discussions the Medici displayed great moderation. They only demanded that they should be allowed to return as private citizens, and should have the right of purchasing their forfeited property and effects at the prices for which they had been sold by government; paying also the amount of such sums as had been laid out in their improvement. With respect to the political connections of the state, it was agreed that the Florentines should enter into the league with the other allies for the common defence of Italy; that they should pay to the emperor elect, Maximilian, forty thousand ducats, to the viceroy Cardona, on behalf of his sovereign, eighty thousand, and for his own use, twenty thousand; and they also engaged in a particular alliance with Ferdinand of Aragon for the mutual defence of their respective possessions.

The return of the Medici to their native place had already overthrown the popular form of the Florentine government, and the expulsion of the Gonfaloniere rendered it necessary to

* Nerli, Comment. lib. v. p. 11.
† Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 151.

adopt new regulations for the conduct of the state. As the cardinal yet remained at Prato, the magistrates and principal executive officers met together, and admitting Giuliano and his adherents to their councils, they attempted to form such a system, as, whilst it sanctioned the return of the Medici, might counterbalance the preponderating influence which that family had before enjoyed. To this end, they proposed that the Gonfaloniere should be elected for one year only, and that he should not be allowed to carry on any negotiation, or hold correspondence with foreign powers, without a thorough participation with the other members of the state. A council of eighty citizens was to be chosen every six months, and the principal magistrates were to be created by the *Consiglio grande*, as had formerly been the custom.* In these regulations Giuliano, who is said to have inherited the mildness and urbanity of his ancestor Veri de' Medici, rather than the political sagacity and vigilance of the great Cosmo, readily concurred; and Giovan-Batista Ridolfi was appointed the first Gonfaloniere under the reformed government. It soon, however, appeared, that by this institution the Medici were left without authority at the mercy of their opponents; and as the new Gonfaloniere was not only a man of great influence, but strongly attached to the popular party, apprehensions were justly entertained that as soon as the Spanish troops should be withdrawn from the vicinity, the Medici and their adherents would again be expelled. In this emergency many of the chief citizens resorted to the cardinal at Prato, and concerted with him, and with Giulio de' Medici and Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, the means of repairing the error of Giuliano, and of establishing the government in the same manner as it had been conducted before the expulsion of the Medici in 1494. Whilst the members of the senate were debating on the best mode of carrying into effect the proposed system of their government, the palace was surrounded by armed men, who put a speedy period to their deliberations. In their stead a new council of sixty-six citizens was appointed, the members of which were known to be wholly devoted to the Medici. Ridolfi

* Nerli, Comment. lib. vi. pp. 112, 114.

was compelled to renounce the office of Gonfaloniere, which he had so lately accepted. The brother and nephews of Piero Soderini were ordered to be confined at different places within the Florentine territory, and Giuliano was expressly acknowledged as chief of the state. This event may be considered as the overthrow of the popular government of Florence, and it may perhaps be doubted whether, if the rights of the citizens had been less rigidly insisted on in the deliberations held with Giuliano de' Medici, a greater share of authority might not have been preserved to the people at large than it was afterwards possible to secure. The freedom of a state is as much endangered by intemperance and violence, as by indifference and neglect; and when once the spirit of opposition is roused to such a pitch, that either party sees its own destruction in the success of the other, they both resort by common consent to the indiscriminating authority of a despot, as the only shelter from that political resentment, which, whilst it professes to aim only at the public good, seems to be of all passions the most unextinguishable and the most ferocious.

About the same time that the Medici returned to Florence, Maximilian Sforza, the son of Lodovico, who had for several years found a refuge at the imperial court, was restored by the arms of the league to the supreme authority of the state of Milan, as had been agreed on at the diet of Mantua.* He entered his capital on the fifteenth day of December, 1512, amidst the rejoicings of the populace, accompanied by the chief commanders of the allied troops, and an immense concourse of Italian, German, Spanish, and Swiss nobility and captains. These important services were not, however, rendered to him, without such claims for compensation as greatly diminished their value. The Swiss laid him under heavy contributions for their pay, and the pope had already divested his dominions of the important territories of Parma and Piacenza. Unfortunately for the repose of Italy, the young duke was not endowed with vigour and talents to contend with those who had long been exercised in political intrigues, and habituated to violence and plunder; and the

* Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 7.

state of Milan, which ought to have been the barrier of Italy against the dangerous inroads of the French, was debilitated and abridged, at the very time when it should, in sound policy, have been invigorated and supported by every possible means.

With the suppression of the fanatical party, formed under the influence of Savonarola, and the restoration of the Medici to Florence, the vivacity and gaiety of the inhabitants returned, and the spectacles and amusements for which that city had formerly been remarkable were revived. Among other methods adopted by the Medici to strengthen their own authority, and conciliate the favour of the populace, was the institution of two companies, or orders of merit. One of these was denominated the order of the diamond, alluding to the *impresa*, or emblem of a diamond ring with three feathers, and the motto, *semper*, adopted by Lorenzo the Magnificent, and now restored by his youngest son, Giuliano, with a view of securing his own influence by recalling the memory of his father. The other order, of which Lorenzo de' Medici, the son of the unfortunate Piero, was considered as the chief, was called the company of the *broncone*, in allusion to the *impresa* of Piero, representing trunks of wood consuming in the midst of flames.* This society was chiefly composed of the younger part of the citizens, who from their rank and time of life were judged to be most suitable companions for Lorenzo, upon whom, as the representative of the elder branch of his family, the authority which it had enjoyed in the state was expected to devolve. To the members of these societies precedence was given on public occasions, and it was their particular province to preside over the festivals, triumphs, and exhibitions, which now once more enlivened the city of Florence, and which were doubtless intended to turn the attention of the people from the consideration of their new state of political degradation. In compliance with the fashion of the times the cardinal also adopted an emblem, which sufficiently manifested his intention to retain the authority which he had thus, by the labour of so many years, regained in his native place; but in choosing on this occasion

* Nerli, Comment. lib. vi. p. 121. Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. vi. p. 158.

the decisive representation of the *giogo*, or yoke, he endeavoured to render it less offensive by the scriptural motto, *Jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve.* "My yoke is easy, and my burthen light."* It is, however, highly probable, that such an unlimited assumption of absolute power as that emblem implies, was not compensated by the language which accompanied it, in the estimation of those inflexible friends to the liberties of their country, many of whom still remained within the city; and who were well aware, that if they were once effectually placed under the yoke, the weight of it must in future depend upon the will of their master.

The return of the Medici to Florence had not been signalized by any act of severity against the adverse party; yet neither the moderation of the cardinal in this respect, nor the means adopted by him and his family to gratify the people by public spectacles and amusements, could prevent the dangerous effects of individual dissatisfaction and resentment. Scarcely had the public ferment subsided, than a project was formed for the destruction of the Medici and the restoration of the ancient government, the chief promoter of which was Pietro Paolo Boscoli, a young man of family, whose proficiency in literature had led him to the contemplation of the examples of ancient courage, and inspired him with that enthusiasm for liberty which is of all passions the most noble and the most dangerous. In the Medici he saw the oppressors of his country; and whilst he dwelt with admiration on the splendid treachery of Brutus, he avowed his determination to imitate him, if another Cassius could be found to second his efforts. Such an associate was soon discovered in Agostino Capponi. Many persons of great reputation, and extensive influence, secretly favoured the enterprise, and a plan was concerted for the assassination of the obnoxious parties. An accident, occasioned by the negligence of Capponi, prevented, however, the execution of their project, and not only involved in destruction both himself and his companion, but led to the accusation of many citizens of the first respectability. As Capponi was entering the house of the Pucci, a

* Ammirato, Ritratto di Leone X. Opusc. vol. iii. p. 73.

paper fell from his bosom, which contained the names of such persons as had either engaged in the conspiracy, or were thought by those with whom it originated likely to favour their cause. This dangerous scroll was immediately communicated to the magistrates. Boscoli and Capponi were apprehended, and on their examination confirmed the suspicions to which the paper had given rise. Among those who appeared to have been implicated in the conspiracy were Cosmo de' Pazzi, archbishop of Florence, Nicolo Valori, the biographer of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the celebrated historian Nicolo Machiavelli, then secretary of the republic, Giovanni Folchi, Piero Orlandini, and many other persons of eminence, all of whom were ordered to be closely confined until their guilt or their innocence might be ascertained by a further inquiry.*

In the midst of the agitation to which this alarming discovery gave rise, the attention of the cardinal de' Medici was suddenly called to a yet more important object, which induced him to quit the city of Florence in the midst of the investigation, and to proceed, with as much expedition as the state of his health would permit, to Rome. This was the death of the supreme pontiff Julius II., which happened on the twenty-first day of February, in the year 1513.

Notwithstanding the ample successes which, in the latter part of his life, had attended the arms and crowned the designs of Julius II., they were by no means commensurate with the reach of his ambition, and the extent of his views. Not satisfied with having acted the principal part in the expulsion of the French from Italy, he had determined to free that country from all foreign powers, and to model its governments at his own pleasure. Hence he certainly meditated hostilities against his ally, the king of Spain, whose sovereignty of Naples was incompatible with his designs. "If heaven be willing," said he, shaking the staff which supported his aged steps, and trembling with rage, "the Neapolitans shall in a short time have another master." The late proceedings of the Medici in Florence had, however, given him no slight offence;

* Nerli, Comment. lib. vi. p. 123.

inasmuch as they had not required his participation or concurrence in the political arrangements of the place, but had secured to themselves a supreme and independent authority. But whilst Julius was immersed in these meditations, he forgot the uncertain tenure by which he held his own existence, and a few days' sickness terminated his extensive projects, and laid him to rest. It has been asserted, that he died phrenetic, exclaiming, "Out of Italy, French! Out, Alfonso of Este!" But Muratori conjectures that he retained his reason to the last; and it is indeed highly probable that those expressions, which were considered as the proofs of delirium, were nothing more than the effects of "the ruling passion strong in death."

The foregoing pages have afforded us sufficient opportunities of appreciating the character and talents of Julius II. Bold, enterprising, ambitious, and indefatigable, he neither sought repose himself, nor allowed it to be enjoyed by others. In searching for a vicar of Christ upon earth, it would indeed have been difficult to have found a person whose conduct and temper were more directly opposed to the mild spirit of Christianity, and the example of its founder; but this was not the test by which the conclave judged of the qualifications of a pontiff, who was now no longer expected to seclude himself from the cares of the world in order to attend to the spiritual concerns of his flock. Julius II. is therefore not to be judged by a rule of conduct, which he neither proposed to himself, nor was expected to conform to by others. His vigorous and active mind corresponded with the restless spirit of the times, and his good fortune raised him to an eminence from which he looked down on the proudest sovereigns of the earth. His ambition was not, however, the passion of a grovelling mind, nor were the advantages which he sought to attain of a temporary or personal nature. To establish the authority of the holy see throughout Europe, to recover the dominions of the church, to expel all foreign powers, or, as they were then called, barbarians, from Italy, and to restore that country to the dominion of its native princes, were the vast objects of his comprehensive mind. These objects he lived in a great degree to accomplish; and it may well be

doubted whether, if he had entered on his career at an earlier period of life, he would not have carried his designs into full effect. In suppressing the vicars of the church, and uniting their territories to the holy see, he completed what Alexander VI. had begun; but without incurring an equal degree of odium to that which has been attached to the memory of his predecessor. The Italian historians have not, however, shewn themselves favourable to his fame; and Guicciardini asserts,* "That if be considered as a great man, it is only by those who, having forgotten the right meaning of words, and confused the distinctions of a sound judgment, conceive that it is rather the office of a supreme pontiff to add to the dominion of the apostolic see by Christian arms and Christian blood, than to afford the example of a well-regulated life."

That the martial character of this pontiff, who frequently led his troops in person, tended to diminish the reverence due to the holy see, and like the enormities of Alexander VI. prepared the way for the reformation which speedily followed, has been conjectured by many writers, and seems indeed highly probable.[209] In his private life he is said to have been addicted to the inordinate use of wine, which may account for some of the eccentricities recorded of him; but it is admitted by all writers that he did not, like too many pontiffs, disgrace his pontificate by dissipating the revenues and domains of the church among his relations and favourites. With the exception only of the city of Pesaro, the investiture of which, with the consent of the college of cardinals, was granted to his nephew, the duke of Urbino, the conquests of Julius were annexed to the dominions of the church; and he withstood the entreaties of his daughter Felice, the wife of M. Antonio Colonna, who solicited the hat of a cardinal for Guido da Montefeltro, the half-brother of her husband, having openly declared to her that he did not think him deserving of that rank. Julius was the first pontiff who revived the custom which had long been discontinued by his predecessors, of suffering his beard to extend to

* Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 31.

its natural length, which he is supposed to have done in order to give additional dignity to his appearance; but which may with more probability be attributed to his impatient temper and incessant occupations, which left him no time for the usual attentions to his person.

That Julius was no scholar is asserted on his own authority; but although he did not devote himself to sedentary occupations, he was not, like Paul II., a persecutor of men of learning. On the contrary, those few ecclesiastics whom he raised to the purple by the suggestions of his own judgment, and without the solicitation of foreign powers, were all men of considerable talents and acquirements. At no time have the professors of literature been sparing of their acknowledgments for the favour of the great; and Julius II. is the frequent theme of applause in the works of his contemporaries, who devoted themselves to the cultivation of Latin poetry.[210] Of these, some have celebrated his magnanimity, his courage, his promptitude in war, and others his strict administration of justice, and his attention to the arts of peace. In a copy of verses addressed by Valerianus to the pope, on the proficiency made by his nephew, Giovanni Francesco della Rovere, in the study of the law, that author asserts that not only polite literature, but the severer studies, had begun to assume a new form, and were cultivated under his influence with great success. Nor can it be denied, that during his pontificate, amidst the tumults of war, the depopulation of cities, the ravages of pestilence and of famine, and all those calamities and commotions which agitate and distract the human mind, the great and distinguished characters who were destined to illustrate by their works the more pacific reign of his successor, were principally formed. Already had Bembo distinguished himself by numerous productions both in the Italian and Latin tongue, which had spread his reputation through the whole extent of Italy. Castiglione had composed his elegant work, to which we have before adverted, and Ariosto had not only formed the design, but made a considerable progress in the execution of his immortal poem.

Of the favourable disposition of Julius towards men of talents, a decisive instance appears in his conduct towards

Giovanni Antonio Flaminio, the learned father of a still more learned son; and who, having pronounced an oration before him at Imola in the year 1506, was honoured by him with the most friendly demonstrations of esteem and respect, and invited to take up his residence at Rome. Flaminio excused himself; and the pope, instead of manifesting his displeasure, presented him with fifty gold crowns. Some time afterwards, the bishop of Narni, having occasion to pay a visit to Imola, was ordered by the pope to call upon Flaminio, and to assure him of the continuance of his regard, and of his wish to know in what manner he could give him the most effectual proofs of it. The favour of the pontiff induced Flaminio to address to him a copy of Latin verses, in which the poet encourages him to persevere in his great design of delivering Italy from a foreign yoke, and to crown his glory by becoming the assertor of the liberties of his country. An exhortation so consonant to the disposition and views of the pope was doubtless received with favour, and the stern mind of Julius might perhaps trace with satisfaction, in the elegant lines of Flaminio, the durable records of his future fame.*

The Vatican library, which had been begun by Nicholas V., and enlarged by the attention of succeeding pontiffs, derived no great advantage from the patronage of Julius II. But this is not to be attributed so much to his disregard of literature, as to the design which he had formed of collecting a separate library for the use of the Roman pontiffs, which was not to owe its importance to the number, so much as to the value of the books and manuscripts of which it was to be composed. It was also intended that the splendour of this collection should be enhanced by works in painting and sculpture by the most distinguished artists of the time; but the death of the pope prevented, in all probability, the completion of the plan; and as no such distinct collection has been adverted to in later times, it may justly be conjectured that

* Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. iv. p. 357. Many further particulars illustrative of the character and conduct of Julius II. are given by Count Bossi (Ital. ed. vol. iii. pp. 187, 222), and by Mr. Henke (Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 28, 4to. &c.).

it has been united with that of the Vatican. In a letter[211] of Bembo to the pope, written only a few days before his death, this library is particularly mentioned; and from the same letter we learn some curious particulars, respecting not only the attention of that pontiff to the promotion of literature, but the restoration of the long lost art of abbreviated or short-hand writing, of which Bembo may be considered as the reviver in modern times.

CHAPTER X.

1513.

Assembly of the conclave—Mode of electing a pope—Election of the cardinal de' Medici—Motives of the choice of the conclave—Reason of his taking the name of Leo X.—His coronation—Procession to the Lateran—Embassy from Florence—Leo pardons the Florentine conspirators—Recals Pietro Soderini—Appoints Bembo and Sadoleti his secretaries—Resolves to establish the peace of Europe—Louis XII. threatens the state of Milan—Treaty of Blois—Leo endeavours to dissuade Louis XII.—Opposes him and forms with Henry VIII. the treaty of Mechlin—Subsidizes the Swiss—Louis XII. attacks the Milanese—Battle of Novara, and defeat of the French—Leo recommends lenient measures—Expulsion of the French from Italy—Henry VIII. invades France—Battle of the Spurs—The king of Scotland attacks England—Battle of Flodden—Congratulatory letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII.—Treaty of Dijon—Battle of Vicenza—The emperor elect and the Venetians submit their differences to Leo X.—Leo renews the meetings of the Lateran council—Nominates four cardinals—Lorenzo de' Medici assumes the government of Florence—Giuliano de' Medici admitted a Roman citizen—Leo pardons the refractory cardinals—Humiliation and absolution of Louis XII.

On the third day of March, 1513, the cardinals who happened to be then in Rome entered the church of S. Andrea, where the mass of the *Spirito Santo* was celebrated by the cardinal of Strigonia; after which the bishop of Castello, having made the usual oration *de pontifice elegendo*, they went in procession to the conclave to proceed to the choice of a pope. It was not until the sixth day of the same month that the cardinal de' Medici arrived in Rome and joined his brethren. The whole number of cardinals who were assembled on this occasion was twenty-five.

There are four different modes of electing the supreme pontiff; by *inspiration*, by *compromise*, by *scrutiny*, and by *access*.*

* Supplém. au Corps Diplom. tom. v. p. 46, &c.

An election by *inspiration* is effected by several of the cardinals calling aloud, as by a sudden impulse, the name of the person whom they wish to raise to the pontifical dignity. This method of resorting to the pretext of supernatural aid is seldom relied on, except when all human means have failed of success. If, however, a powerful party can be raised, and their efforts happen to be strongly seconded, the rest of the cardinals, unwilling to distinguish themselves by a decided opposition, or to be the last in expressing their consent, hasten to concur in the choice.

It is called an election by *compromise* when the cardinals, not being able to determine on a proper person, agree to submit the choice of a pontiff to one or more of their own body, nominated for that purpose. It was thus that John XXII., after having obtained the solemn assent of the whole college to abide by his decision, assumed to himself the pontificate; an event which induced the cardinals not to intrust this power in future to any of their number, without such restrictions as might effectually prevent the recurrence of a similar event.

In choosing a pope by *scrutiny*, the cardinals each write their own name, with that of the person whom they wish to recommend, on a *billet*, or ticket; which they afterwards place, with many ceremonies and genuflexions, in a large and highly ornamented chalice, on the altar of the chapel in which they assemble. The tickets are then taken out by officers appointed from their own body for that purpose, and the number is carefully compared with that of the persons present; after which, if it appear that any one of the cardinals has two-thirds of the votes in his favour, he is declared to be canonically elected pope. When, however, after repeated trials, this does not occur, a new proceeding takes place, which is called election by *access*; in which any cardinal may accede to the vote of another by an alteration of his ticket in a prescribed form. When by these means the choice of a pontiff is effected, the tickets are prudently committed to the flames, to prevent all pretexts for further inquiry.*

After a deliberation which lasted for the space of seven

* Cérémonial de Rome, in Supplém. au Corps Diplomatique, tom. v. pp. 48, 49.

days, the choice of the conclave fell upon the cardinal de' Medici, who was elected by scrutiny.* As he was at this time the chief cardinal deacon, it was his office to examine the votes, in which he conducted himself with great modesty; and when he had the happiness to find that he was himself the fortunate candidate, not the least alteration was perceived in his countenance. He immediately received the adoration of the cardinals, whom he embraced and kissed in return. They then requested to know what name he would assume; to which he replied that he should submit it to the sacred college; but, on being again intreated to make his choice, he answered that, among his other vain cogitations, he had at some times thought, that if he should ever be called to the pontifical chair, he would take the name of LEO THE TENTH; which, if agreeable to them, he would now adopt; but if not, he would alter his intention. On this many of the cardinals expressed their approbation, alleging that, if they had been elected, they would have made the same choice. One of the windows of the conclave, which had been closed up as usual on such occasions, was then broken down, and the cardinal Alessandro Farnese announced to the people, in the usual form, the election of a pope and the name which he had assumed.[212] He was then placed in the pontifical chair, and carried to the church of S. Pietro, accompanied by the whole conclave and the ecclesiastics of the city, amidst the rejoicings of the people and the discharge of cannon; the clergy singing, as they passed, *Te Deum laudamus;* and being brought before the great altar, he was there enthroned.

The causes which determined the college in their choice of a pontiff on this occasion rest chiefly on conjecture. It is, however, sufficiently understood, that whilst the elder members inclined towards the party of the cardinal Alborese, who had on one examination thirteen votes in his favour, the younger, and particularly those of royal and noble families, adhered to that of the cardinal de' Medici. Of the elder members, no one possessed greater influence than Raffaello Riario, nephew of Sixtus IV., whom the cardinal de' Medici found means, after several days' deliberations, to attach to his

* Conclave di Leone X. p. 178.

interests, and whose favour probably secured his election. From the narration of Jovius it appears, that the cardinal de' Medici was at this time seriously indisposed, from an abscess, the breaking of which diffused through the whole conclave such an intolerable stench, that the cardinals, thinking it impossible that he could long survive, determined to elect him pope;* but this story is rejected by a more judicious writer,† as having arisen from the misrepresentations of those who have insinuated that the irregularities of his past life had subjected him to this disorder. It is, however, certain, that at the time when the cardinal quitted Florence, he was so much indisposed as to be obliged to be carried by slow stages in a litter to Rome, and that on the day after his arrival a surgeon was admitted into the conclave, who performed an operation on his person, after which the cardinals would not permit the surgeon, notwithstanding his entreaties, to quit the place; but the certainty of this fact by no means authorizes those inferences which some have attempted to draw from it.[213] The real motives of the choice of the college may, with more candour, and perhaps with more truth, be sought for in the high estimation in which the name of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of the cardinal, was yet held throughout Italy; in the decorum and respectability of his own life and manners; and in the remembrance of the services which he had rendered to the church, and of the dangers which he had sustained in the defence of her rights. At this important juncture the cardinal de' Medici is also said to have owed great obligations to Bernardo da Bibbiena, whom he fortunately selected as his conclavist, and who, by his dexterous management and artful representations, removed the opposition of the cardinal Soderini, brother of the late Gonfaloniere of Florence, and others, who were at first adverse to the elevation of his patron.[214] But whatever were the motives which led to that event, it is on all hands agreed, that his elevation was not disgraced by that shameless traffic and open prostitution of the favours and emoluments of the church, which had been so usual on similar occasions, and Leo ascended the pontifical throne without any imputation on his character for integrity,

* Jovius, lib. iii. p. 56. † Fabron. in Vita Leonis X. p. 60.

even by that propensity to scandal by which the city of Rome has always been distinguished. The populace would not indeed relinquish their privilege of mingling their satire with their joy on this occasion;[215] but when satire attaches only to slight imperfections, it becomes the surest proof that there are no glaring defects to provoke the severity of animadversion.

In assuming the name of Leo X.[216] it has been supposed by some, that the cardinal de' Medici meant to allude to the insignia of his native place, and by others, that he intended to verify the dreams of his mother;* but as he was not remarkable for a superstitious adherence to the expiring follies of the age, we may rather assent to those writers who suppose that he intended to allude to the courage and magnanimity with which he was resolved to execute the high office to which he had been called. It may also be observed, that it had been the custom of many of his predecessors to adopt appellations of a warlike nature; and after an Alexander and a Julius, the name of Leo, already sanctioned by a long succession of pontiffs, if not dreaded by his enemies, might at least seem formidable to his subjects;† but it is yet more probable that he was induced to this choice by the consideration, that all his predecessors of the same name had been eminently distinguished by their virtues, their talents, or their good fortune, and he therefore thought it not unadvisable to revive a name which, although so celebrated, had not occurred in the annals of the church for more than four centuries.‡

As the pope, before his elevation, was only a cardinal deacon, it was necessary to admit him into priest's orders; which ceremony was performed on the fifteenth day of March, four days after his election. He was consecrated bishop on the seventeenth, and crowned on the nineteenth of the same month. On this occasion a large platform was erected on the steps of the church of S. Pietro, with columns, and a cornice in imitation of marble, on which was inscribed in letters of gold, LEONI X. PONT. MAX. LITERATORUM PRÆSIDIO, AC BONITATIS FAUTORI. On the morning of the day appointed, Leo proceeded to the church of S. Pietro, accompanied by

* Jovius, in Vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 56. † Jovius, *ut sup.*
‡ Brandol. Leo. in not. 74, p. 112.

the college of cardinals and dignified ecclesiastics, where he was habited as a priest for the celebration of mass. Thence he went to the great altar, preceded by the master of the ceremonies with a reed in each hand, to the summit of one of which was attached a lighted candle, and to the other a bunch of tow. This officer kneeling before the pope, set fire to the tow; at the same time repeating the words—*Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi.* Having celebrated his first mass, the pope was conducted to the steps of the church, where the tiara or triple crown was placed on his head by the cardinal Farnese and the cardinal of Aragon; after which, having conferred his benediction on all present, he returned to the apostolic palace.

On the coronation of a new pontiff, it is customary for him to grant to the cardinals whatever they may request. Such an unlimited privilege certainly presumes no small share of discretion in those who avail themselves of it; but on this occasion the well-known generosity of the pontiff had raised the hopes of the college beyond all reasonable bounds, and Leo could not avoid expressing his astonishment at the number and nature of the demands which were made upon him. "Take my tiara, rather," said he to the cardinals, smiling, "and then you may agree among yourselves, as so many popes, to divide things as you may think proper."

His predecessor Julius II. had conducted himself in the public offices of devotion with great negligence, and had even refused to expose his feet for adoration in the form of a cross, on Good Friday; for which his master of the ceremonies has assigned a singular, if not a sufficient cause.* It had also been observed, that in performing the ceremonial of washing the feet of the poor on Holy Thursday, Julius had only placed his thumbs across and kissed them. Leo had at least more policy, if not more devotion. He performed the former rite with his feet exposed, and hesitated not to kiss those of the poor; observing at the same time, that this mysterious act of piety ought not to be evaded by a pretext.[217]

The more splendid ceremony of the procession of the pope to take possession of the Lateran see was postponed until the

* "Quia totus erat ex *morbo gallico* alterosus."—P. de Grass. MS. 61, ap. Not. des. MSS. du Roi, vol. ii. p. 579.

eleventh day of April, being the anniversary of the day on which he had been a made a prisoner at the battle of Ravenna, and already consecrated in the Roman calendar to S. Leo the Great. That the contrast between his past misfortunes and his present prosperity might not be unobserved, he also chose to be mounted during his procession on a favourite white steed, which had borne him on that occasion, and which from this day he released from all further service. This spectacle, at all times sufficiently superb, was now rendered much more magnificent by the desire of the citizens to gratify that predilection for grandeur and for elegance, which the new pontiff was well known to possess.[218] All the nobility then in Rome, with many of the independent sovereigns of Italy, and the ambassadors of most of the European states, contributed to give dignity and importance to the ceremony. Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, no longer a rebel to the church, made a journey to Rome to be present on this occasion, and had the honour of assisting the pontiff in mounting his horse. His formidable adversary, Francesco Maria, duke of Urbino, joined in the same procession, and bore the pontifical standard. The counts of Pitigliano, of Anguillara, of Carpi, and of Camerino, with other subordinate princes, were also present; but the most striking, and perhaps the most pleasing spectacle to the Roman people, was that of the chiefs of the two powerful families of the Orsini and the Colonna, whose dissensions had for ages disturbed the repose of the Roman state, accompanying each other in token of perpetual reconciliation. Giulio de' Medici bore the standard of the knights of Rhodes, whose society, however, he from this day abandoned to devote himself to the more lucrative offices of the church. The streets and squares through which the pontiff had to pass were spread with tapestry, and strewed with flowers; the arms and emblems of the Medici were emblazoned with every variety of ornament; the most beautiful works in painting and sculpture, of which the city could boast, or which the ingenuity and talents of the Roman artists could produce, were exultingly displayed; and triumphal arches with appropriate inscriptions gave to the whole the appearance rather of the return of a Roman hero from conquest, than of the pacific procession of an ecclesiastical prince. On the arrival of the

pope at the castle of S. Angelo, he was met by the Jews then resident in Rome, who presented to him the volume of their law, and requested the confirmation of their privileges. Receiving from them the book, he opened it and appeared to read; then letting it suddenly fall, he replied, "We confirm, but we do not assent;"* and proceeded on his way. With this state the pontiff arrived, amidst the acclamations of the populace;† at the church of S. Giovanni Laterano, at the great door of which was placed, under a portico, a marble chair, to which he was conducted by the prior and canons of the Lateran. Three cardinals then approached and raised him from his seat, chanting at the same time, *He raiseth the poor from the dust, &c.*‡ This ceremony, which has given rise to various conjectures, may be considered as intended to represent the inferiority of the former condition of the pontiff, in comparison with his present elevation, as that of the burning of the tow on his coronation is figurative of the instability of worldly grandeur. He then entered the church, and having prostrated himself before the high altar, received the insignia of his dignity. Thence he passed to the chapel of S. Silvestro, where the nobility were admitted to the honour of kissing his feet. To each of the bishops he distributed a silver medal, and to each of the cardinals two of silver and one of gold. The prelates here congratulated him on his assumption, and, more favoured than his secular attendants, were allowed to kiss his hand. Having rested here for the space of an hour, he was accompanied to the palace or hall of Constantine, where he took a formal possession of his dominions, and passed the remainder of the day. In the evening he returned to the Vatican, with the same state and attendants with which he had quitted it in the morning.

The opinion which the public had already formed of the character of the new pontiff was strongly expressed in the numerous inscriptions which were displayed on the triumphal arches, and the palaces of eminent individuals. Of these,

* "Confirmamus, sed non consentimus."—Penni, *ut sup.*

† LEONE, LEONE, PALLE, PALLE; the name of the pontiff, and the arms of the Medici.—Penni.

‡ "Suscitat de pulvere egenum, et de stercore erigit pauperem."—Not. des MSS. du Roi, vol. i. p. 179; *vide ante*, chap. iii.

some alluded to his well-known love of peace, to the vicissitudes of his former life, to his attention to the encouragement of literature, to the acknowledged decorum of his private life and morals, to the discriminating lenity and moderation which he had already displayed, and to his disposition to promote the public happiness. Agostino Chisi, a rich merchant from Siena, and a great promoter of the arts, adopted on this occasion an inscription which refers with some degree of freedom to the preceding pontificates of Alexander VI. and Julius II.[219]

"Once Venus ruled; next Mars usurped the throne;
Now Pallas calls these favour'd seats her own."

No sooner had Agostino displayed his device, than Antonio da S. Marano, a goldsmith in his neighbourhood, exhibited an elegant statue of Venus, under which he inscribed, in allusion to the former lines,

"Once Mars prevail'd, now Pallas reigns;
But Venus yet her power retains."

The exultation which took place at Rome on the elevation of Leo X. was most cordially re-echoed from his native city, where the Medici had now gained a complete ascendency, and where even their enemies had relinquished their hostility, in the hopes of obtaining at length that peace and security to which they had so long been strangers. An embassy of the most respectable inhabitants was despatched to congratulate the pontiff, and as it became necessary to select some person of rank and learning to address his holiness, the choice of the citizens fell upon Bernardo Ruccellai, who, from his elegant historical tracts in the Latin tongue, was justly considered as another Sallust, and from the great authority which he enjoyed among his fellow-citizens, and the near connection in which he stood to the pope, was regarded as the most proper person for that honourable office. Bernardo, however, declined the task, alleging as a reason, the infirm state of his health; but his refusal gave no small displeasure to the citizens of Florence, who suspected that his indisposition was feigned, for the purpose of excusing himself from an undertaking which did not accord with his feelings. Nor is it, indeed, improbable that this illustrious citizen felt an insuperable reluctance to the expressing his congratulations

on an event, which he perhaps foresaw would confirm the subjugation of his country. The office of orator devolved therefore on Pietro Guicciardini, who acquitted himself with distinguished ability; and the reply of the pontiff was admired, not only for its promptitude and elegance, but for its kind and conciliatory tendency, and the assurances which he gave to his countrymen of his paternal care and regard. A deputation soon afterwards arrived from the city of Siena, and the time had been fixed upon for the introduction of the delegates to the pope. The cardinals were already met, but the delegates not making their appearance, several messengers were despatched to hasten them. Arriving at length, they apologized for their delay, by alleging that they were Sienese, and followed the customs of Siena.* Their public orator, Giovan Antonio Saraceno, then began a tiresome and absurd oration, to which Leo replied in so appropriate and jocular a style, as to delight his attendants without offending even the deputies themselves. In fact, the pontiff possessed in an eminent degree that versatility of talent which accommodates itself to every occasion, and that discretion which points out the proper season to make use of it. As many other ambassadors were expected from the different states of Christendom, Leo inquired from his master of the ceremonies whether he ought on all occasions to reply in person, or whether he might not with propriety delegate the task to another. From the researches made by that officer on this important subject, it appeared that Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) was the first pontiff who had set the example of always answering for himself on public occasions. Paul II. was desirous of continuing this custom, but his memory frequently betrayed him. Sixtus IV. always spoke in person, and acquitted himself with credit. Innocent VIII. never attempted to deliver his sentiments in public. Whenever Julius II. was expected to make a reply, he pretended to be suddenly taken ill, and to be deprived of all memory, insomuch, that it became necessary for his master of the ceremonies to rouse him, as it were, from the dead, and to remind him of what was passing before him. The result of these inquiries was, that in a first audience it would be

* "Se esse Senenses et more Senensi fecisse," which some of the lively attendants on the pontiff interpreted, "Se esse fatuos et more fatuo fecisse."

proper for the pope himself to reply, but in few words, and that his secretary should be ready, if it became necessary, to enter more fully into the subject. It was afterwards settled, that the pope in replying to a sovereign prince should speak for himself, but that in replying to an ambassador, he might employ a substitute.*

A very favourable opportunity of manifesting those virtues for which he had already been so highly commended, was afforded to the new pontiff by the affairs of Florence, where the magistrates, after his departure for Rome, had proceeded in examining into the conspiracy of Boscoli and Capponi, and after having obtained from those two leaders a confession of their crimes, had sentenced them to decapitation. Of the other conspirators, Nicolo Machiavelli had been remanded into custody at Florence, and Nicolo Valori and Giovanni Folchi were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the tower of Volterra. The crime of Valori consisted merely in having heard one of the conspirators give some indication of his intentions, without having revealed it to the magistrates;[220] and in such a light was this offence considered, that had not the powerful influence of his nephew, Bartolommeo Valori, a zealous partisan of the Medici, been exerted in his favour, the historian of Lorenzo, the father of the pontiff, would in all probability have forfeited his life. No sooner, however, was Leo seated in the pontifical chair, than his interference obtained the liberation of the prisoners; and it was conjectured, that his pardon would also have been extended to the principals, had not the severity of the Florentine magistrates prevented it, by ordering them to execution immediately after the sentence was pronounced.† The conduct of Leo X. towards the family of Soderini was calculated still more to increase his reputation for clemency and generosity. He well remembered his paternal maxim, that "to convert an enemy into a friend, is not less consistent with sound policy, than with true humanity." Among the members of the college, the first whom he singled out as the object of his particular kindness, was the cardinal Francesco Soderini, the brother of Pietro Soderini, the exiled Gonfaloniere of Florence. On the

* Par. de Grass. Diar. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi, vol. ii. p. 581.
† Nerli, Comment. di Fir. lib. vi. p. 123.

invitation of the pope, Pietro hastened to Rome, where he met not only with protection, but favour, and where he passed the remainder of his days in an honourable independence, still retaining the title of Gonfaloniere. Nor did Leo hesitate to cement the connection between this powerful family and his own by the ties of affinity; and a marriage was soon afterwards celebrated between Luigi, the son of Piero Ridolfi, by his wife Contessina, the sister of the pontiff, and a niece of the Gonfaloniere.

Nor was the liberality of Leo confined merely to the forgiveness of injuries. The character which he had for many years sustained as the promoter of letters and of arts, had occasioned a general expectation, that on his being raised to the supreme dignity, and obtaining the direction of the treasures and emoluments of the Roman see, it would be impossible for genius, worth, and talents, to remain unnoticed, or unrewarded. Before he quitted the conclave on his election, he had nominated as his pontifical secretaries, Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleti, who were then in Rome, and were justly esteemed two of the first scholars of the age. The appointment to such a confidential situation of two men, who had not risen by the indirect means of ecclesiastical intrigue, and were only known by their talents and their acquirements, gave additional hopes of that patronage to science, to literature, and the arts, which was shortly afterwards so effectually realized. Under these impressions Rome became at once the general resort of those who possessed, or had pretensions to, superior learning, industry, or ability: all of whom took it for granted, that the supreme pontiff had now no other objects of attention, than to listen to their representations, to admire their productions, and to reward their labours. If their expectations were not immediately fulfilled, it may, in justice to the character of the new pontiff, be observed, that upon his elevation to his high office, his first attention was turned to objects of yet greater importance, and more suited to his dignity. From the elevated station in which he was placed, he took a comprehensive view of the whole extent of Europe; resolved, as far as lay in his power, to terminate the disgraceful contests that subsisted among the Christian princes; and to exercise his authority, as head of the Christian church,

in promoting the repose and happiness of those whom he considered as committed to his care. Even before his coronation he addressed a letter to Sigismond, king of Poland, who was then meditating a formidable attack upon Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, entreating him to suspend hostilities, until a legate should arrive from Rome, who might endeavour to reconcile their dissensions without their having recourse to the sword. In this letter he avows his intention of labouring to maintain the repose of Europe; for which purpose he had resolved to send as his legates, to every nation, men of high rank and authority;* and expresses his strong sense of the folly and wickedness of those destructive quarrels which had so long disgraced and depopulated the Christian world.

At this time, the expulsion of the French from Italy had given a momentary repose to that unhappy country, and the union formed by Julius II. between the emperor elect, Maximilian, the kings of Aragon and of England, the Venetians, and the church, by which that event had been accomplished, seemed to secure the general tranquillity. Louis XII. was, however, too ambitious, and too powerful a prince, to suffer himself to be deterred from the prosecution of his claims on the duchy of Milan, by the unfortunate events which had conspired to frustrate the acknowledged successes of his arms; and at the very time when Leo assumed the pontifical chair, that monarch was exerting all his influence to compose the dissensions which subsisted between himself and Henry VIII. of England, and to terminate the disputes in which he was involved with the emperor elect, that he might be enabled to devote his attention and resources towards this, his favourite object. Unsuccessful in these negotiations, he endeavoured to obviate the opposition which he had hitherto experienced from the holy see. The death of Julius II., who had been the soul of the league, had released him from an implacable enemy, and afforded him hopes that his successor might be more favourable to his views; and these hopes were, perhaps, encouraged by a declaration which the pope had taken occasion to make, "that he would not attempt any thing against the French monarch."† With these expectations,

* Bembi, Epist. nom. Leon. X. lib. i. ep. v. ante coronationem.
† Pur. de Grass. Diar.

Louis XII. addressed himself to Giuliano de' Medici, then at Florence, professing the most earnest desire of promoting his interest, and his joy on the elevation of his brother to the pontifical throne. At the same time he expressed his hopes that the pope would not oppose his designs upon Milan; in which case he would not pursue his conquests further, and would make Leo himself the arbiter of the terms of peace.* These proposals were immediately forwarded to Rome by Giuliano, who, attentive rather to the personal obligations which, during his exile, he had contracted to Louis XII., and to the promises contained in his letters, than to the political consequences of the measure, earnestly entreated the pontiff to enter into the proposed alliance. The reply of the pope to his brother, which was doubtless intended to be communicated to Louis XII., whilst it further manifests his earnest wishes to maintain the repose of Italy, indisputably proves that he was well aware of the ambitious projects of the king, and was by no means inclined to promote them.† Louis was not, however, to be deterred by the coldness or the enmity of the pope; who, notwithstanding the conciliatory tenour of this letter, had made no offer to relieve him from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by Julius II. He therefore redoubled his exertions with the other parties to the league, and at length prevailed upon Ferdinand of Aragon to agree to a cessation of arms for one year. The king of England and the emperor elect were also introduced as contracting parties in this treaty; but circumstances occurred which effectually prevented their assenting to it.[22]

The efforts of Louis XII. to engage the Venetians in his interests were, however, more decidedly successful. By a versatility which in other times would have appeared extraordinary, these republicans deserted their allies who had saved them from destruction, and entered into a treaty with the king for assisting him in the recovery of Milan, and for ascertaining the limits of their respective territories. This treaty was concluded at Blois, on the thirteenth day of March, and was subscribed on the part of the senate by Andrea Gritti, who had been carried a prisoner into France.

* Guicciard, lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 36.

† This letter is given in Bembi, Ep. Pont. lib. i. ep. 18.

It purported to be an offensive and defensive league between the contracting powers. The Cremonese, with the district of Ghiaradada, were to be annexed to the state of Milan; but the cities of Bergamo, Brescia, and Crema, were again to submit to the authority of the senate.* Among the Italian prisoners in France, who were now restored to liberty, was Bartolommeo d'Alviano, who immediately repaired to Venice, to justify himself from the imputations under which he laboured on account of the unfortunate battle of Ghiaradada, the loss of which he attributed to the misconduct of the count of Pitigliano. The dead warrior could not refute the charge, and d'Alviano was again appointed to the chief command of the Venetian troops.

The preparations making by Louis XII. and the Venetian states were observed by Leo X. with the greatest anxiety. Besides his uniform desire of maintaining the public tranquillity, various motives concurred in rendering these proceedings highly obnoxious to him. By the first visit of the French into Italy, he and his family had been expelled from their native place, and compelled to wander as fugitives for the long space of eighteen years. The adherence of the Florentines to the interests of France during this period, had given rise to a spirit of party, by which the cause of the French and that of the Medici were habitually regarded as hostile to each other. Nor could Leo so soon forget the unfortunate day of Ravenna, when he was made a prisoner by the French arms, and was indebted for his liberty, not to the generosity of his conquerors, but to his own good fortune. To these personal motives of opposition might be added the apprehensions entertained by the pope, that by the success of the French in Milan, the Roman see would again be divested of the territories of Parma and Piacenza, which, after having been added by the vigilance of Julius II. to the dominions of the church, were, immediately on the death of that pontiff, restored by the viceroy Cardona to the duke of Milan, and by him again surrendered to Leo X.† For these reasons, Leo determined to exert all the means in his power either to prevent the expedition of the king, or to frustrate its success.

* Lünig. vol. ii. p. 2005. Dumont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 182.
† Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 95. Lünig. vol. ii. p. 802.

On the first rumour of the treaty of Blois, he despatched a messenger to his legate, Pietro da Bibbiena, directing him to express to the Venetian senate his confidence that they would not engage in any measure of importance, without first consulting him as their ally. He also addressed himself by letter to Louis XII., who had communicated to him the terms of the treaty concluded with Ferdinand of Aragon; assuring him that nothing could be more agreeable to his disposition than to see the princes of Christendom united in bonds of amity, but expressing at the same time his regret, that the French monarch had avowed his intention of again attacking the state of Milan. He justly reminds him that, instead of relinquishing hostilities, this is only transferring his arms to another object; and earnestly exhorts him not to interrupt again the repose of Italy, but to spare that unhappy country a repetition of those calamities which she had experienced for such a series of years. This letter the pontiff despatched by a confidential servant named Cinthio, the object of whose mission has been grossly misrepresented by some authors; who conceive that they are displaying their own talents, in accounting for the conduct of others, by attributing it to indirect and culpable motives.[222]

Confiding, however, but little in these representations, Leo had already begun to adopt such measures as he thought most effectual for preserving Italy from another conflagration. To this end he had endeavoured to prevail upon the emperor elect, Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Aragon, to unite with him in a general opposition to the French king. The cold and deliberating policy of Ferdinand, and the weak and versatile temper of Maximilian might have frustrated the hopes of the pontiff; but their reluctance, or inability, was amply compensated by the introduction of another ally, whose youth, disposition, and resources, were well calculated to render him an object of alarm to the French monarch. This was Henry VIII. of England, who had succeeded to the crown in the year 1509, and being now in the vigour of life, burnt with an ambitious desire of emulating the conquests of his ancestors by a descent upon France. The immense wealth accumulated by his predecessors, and which he retained to his own use, whilst he sacrificed to the popular fury

the unhappy wretches who had been the instruments of extorting it, enabled him not only to raise a powerful army, but to subsidize his continental allies; and the spirit of the people, recovering from its torpor, earnestly sought for an opportunity of exertion and of danger. Under these circumstances, the pope, who had already endeavoured to secure the favour and friendship of Henry,* found no great difficulty in engaging him to unite with the emperor elect, the king of Aragon, and himself, in a league against France, which was concluded and signed at Mechlin, then the residence of the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, on the fifth day of April, 1513, and by which they agreed to unite together for the defence of the church, and to attack the kingdom of France within two months, in such provinces as are particularly specified in the treaty. As the emperor elect could only be induced to lend his name to this alliance by a considerable bribe, Henry undertook to pay him one hundred thousand crowns; thirty-five thousand of which were to be paid within one month after Maximilian declared war against Louis XII., as much more when he appeared by himself or his commanders in actual arms against him, and the remainder within three months from the commencement of the war.† The English historians have considered Henry as the dupe of his pretended allies in this transaction; and it is certain, that Ferdinand of Aragon carefully concealed from him the truce which he had lately entered into for a year with Louis XII., and which he intended either to adhere to, or to violate, as might best suit his future views.‡

The efforts thus made by Leo X. for the defence of Milan, were but ill seconded by Maximilian Sforza, who inherited neither the warlike spirit, nor the political sagacity by which many of his ancestors had been distinguished. Wholly devoid of those qualities which might attach the affection or command the respect of his subjects, he was unfortunately placed in a situation in which his public measures required a degree of indulgence seldom conceded without murmurs, even to the most favourite rulers. In order to gratify the Swiss merce-

* *Vide* the letter from Leo. X. to Henry VIII. in App. No. VI.

† Rymer Fœdera, vol. vi. par. i. p. 41. Dumont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 173.

‡ Rapin, book xv. vol. i. p. 720.

naries, by whose aid he had been raised to the chief authority, he had been obliged to have recourse to oppressive taxations; and the dissatisfaction to which these gave rise was increased by the measures necessary to be adopted for the defence of his dominions. Disgusted with their new sovereign, whose personal appearance too well corresponded with the imbecility of his mind, the inhabitants of Milan looked with a favourable eye towards the approaching contest. The presence and activity of Prospero Colonna, whom Leo had despatched to the assistance of the duke, compensated, however, in a great degree for his defects; but the principal reliance of the pontiff was on the courage of a large body of Swiss mercenaries, whose friendship and support he had effectually secured, by continuing to them the stipends agreed to be paid by Julius II. Of these auxiliaries, five thousand had already made their appearance in the district of Tortona, where they expected to be joined by the viceroy Cardona, at the head of the Spanish troops. In this they were, however, disappointed; the Spanish general having, under various pretexts, kept aloof from the probable scene of action. The Swiss, not discouraged by the indecision of their supposed ally, and expecting numerous reinforcements of their own countrymen, hesitated not to take upon themselves the defence of the Milanese; and Maximilian Sforza, quitting his capital, raised his standard in the midst of them, and prepared to repel the threatened invasion.

The French army designed for this expedition, consisting of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, eight hundred light horse, and fourteen thousand foot, among whom were the celebrated *bandes noires*,* was commanded by the duke de la Tremouille, assisted by the Italian general, Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, marshal of France.[223] Descending from Susa into Lombardy, these commanders possessed themselves, without opposition, of Asti and of Alessandria. The adherents of the French in Milan, availing themselves of the absence of the duke, again avowed their partiality to Louis XII., and introduced into the citadel, which was yet held by a French garrison, additional troops, and plentiful supplies of provisions. About the same time the French fleet arrived before Genoa, where a popular

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 95.

commotion also took place, and the Milanese governor, Giano Fregoso, with difficulty effected his escape. Whilst the arms of Louis XII. were thus successful, both by sea and land, his allies, the Venetians, were not inactive.* Bartolommeo d'Alviano, at the head of a well-appointed army of twelve thousand men, attacked the city of Cremona, from which he expelled the Milanese general, Cesare Fieramosca, and reinforced the citadel, which was still in the hands of the French. Bergamo soon opened her gates, and raised the banner of S. Mark; Brescia followed the example; and the Spaniards, who had occupied that city, were compelled to take shelter in the castle. Every thing, in short, announced the sudden and favourable termination of a war, begun on the part of the assailants with equal unanimity, vigour, and success.

In the mean time, Leo, on whose assistance the duke of Milan principally relied for his defence against these powerful adversaries, was not idle. He could not, indeed, send to his aid a military force equal to the urgency of the occasion; but he immediately despatched Girolamo Morone, the Milanese envoy at the Roman court, with forty-two thousand ducats as the arrears of the stipend due to the Swiss, for the protection so faithfully and effectually offered by them to the church and her allies.† The viceroy Cardona, who had probably received directions from his master not to infringe the truce so lately entered into by him for one year with Louis XII., had quitted his encampment on the Trebbia to return to Naples, and leave the Milanese to its fate; but the intelligence of this timely supply of money, and of the arrival of a large additional body of Swiss troops, induced him to change his purpose, and return to his former station. The whole of the Milanese was now in the possession of the French, except Como and Novara, which still retained their allegiance to the duke, who had retired to the latter of these places, accompanied by his Swiss auxiliaries. His sensations could not, however, be of the most agreeable kind, when he recollected, that at this very place his father had, a few years before, been betrayed by the same people in whom he now confided, to the marshal Trivulzio, the very man who was

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 96. † Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 39.

now pressing forward to besiege the place; and it is averred, that Trivulzio was, in fact, so confident of a similar event, that he wrote to Louis XII. assuring him that he would deliver up this duke into his hands, as he had before done his predecessor; an assurance which led to a conjecture, that he had also employed the same means for that purpose.* Elated with their success, the French forces commenced the siege of Novara, which they attacked with a formidable train of artillery. On the other hand, the Swiss, although as yet much inferior in number, were so far from betraying any symptoms of apprehension, that they threw open the gates, and afforded their adversaries an opportunity of entering the place, of which they did not choose to avail themselves. At this critical juncture, another large body of Swiss arrived, and approached the besieged city, the information of which circumstance no sooner reached the French commander, than he retired from before the place, and encamped at the Riotta, about two miles distant. The Swiss reinforcements, under the command of their general, Mottino, entered the town of Novara; and on a deliberation, which immediately took place among the leaders, it was resolved to proceed to the attack of the French, without waiting for the arrival of the baron of Halle Saxony, their commander in chief, who was shortly expected with an additional body of troops. Soon after midnight, on the sixth day of June, 1513, the Swiss troops accordingly quitted the city. Without artillery, without cavalry, and greatly inferior in numbers, they furiously assaulted the French in their intrenchments before break of day. Though not prepared for instantaneous action, the French had not been inattentive to their defence, and an engagement ensued, which was supported on both sides with equal courage for several hours. The artillery of the French being brought to bear upon the assailants, thinned their numbers, and disordered their line; but nothing could resist the impetuosity and courage of the Swiss, who conceiving themselves to be contending for glory with the German mercenaries in the pay of the French king, repeated their attack with fresh ardour, until at length they

* This conjecture is admitted by the Cav. Rosmini to be well-founded. Rosmini, Istor. vol. i. p. 470.

possessed themselves of the artillery, and turned it against its former masters. This event effectually decided the fortune of the day. The rout of the French became general. The cavalry led the way in the retreat. All the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the conquerors. It was expected that the French would have rallied their troops in Piedmont, and returned again to the charge; but, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Trivulzio, they again crossed the Alps, leaving their conquests in Milan and their allies the Venetians to the mercy of their enemies. The Swiss returned in triumph to Novara, elated with a victory which may be compared, as well with regard to the magnanimity of the attempt as the courage of its execution and its decisive consequences, with any action in the records of either ancient or modern times.*

Brilliant, however, as was the success of the Swiss on this occasion, it was not obtained without great sacrifices. Of ten thousand men who left Novara, about one-half were left dead on the field, among whom was their gallant commander Mottino; but the loss of the French was still greater, and has been estimated by the joint consent of the French and Italian historians at eight thousand men. These historians, although discordant in many other points respecting this remarkable contest, have joined in commemorating a noble instance of heroic courage and paternal affection in Robert de la Marck; who, at the head of a body of cavalry, pierced through the Swiss ranks and liberated his two sons who had been wounded and made prisoners. The apology of the French writers for the loss of this memorable day is, that their cavalry, from the situation of the place or the misconduct of Trivulzio, could not be brought into action; but if the love of glory had been as powerful in them as the love of his children in Robert de la Marck, it is evident that the difficulties of their position would have been readily surmounted.

As this signal victory and the consequent expulsion of the French from Milan were wholly to be attributed to the Swiss, who had been engaged in the cause by the precaution and

* Guicciard. lib. xi. Ligue de Cambray, ii. 300, &c.

liberality of Leo X., these events reflected great honour on that pontiff. His apprehensions from the irruption of the French being now removed, he did not hesitate to express to his brave auxiliaries, in a public letter, the satisfaction which he had received from their services.* In this letter he professes to lament, no less from the humanity of his own disposition than from his duty as the common parent of Christendom, the dreadful slaughter which had taken place; but he rejoices that they who had vexed the spouse of God, and attempted to rend that garment not made by hands, and by which they had subjected themselves to the anathema of the church, had received the just reward of their demerits. He then avows his high regard for his courageous allies, entreating them not to credit the representations of those who insinuate, that as soon as peace shall be restored he shall disregard their favour and their services, and assuring them that as long as they may choose to continue their alliance with him, he will strictly adhere to its stipulations. On the same occasion he addressed a congratulatory letter to Maximilian, duke of Milan, in which he admonishes him not only to return due thanks to God for so signal an interposition in his favour, but to shew himself worthy of it by his future conduct. "This," says he, "will be most effectually done by your not allowing yourself to be too much elated with your success, and by your avoiding to persecute or destroy those who have been induced to oppose you. Let me therefore most earnestly entreat you, by the affection which I bear you, to deal kindly with them; and if any have erred (as has perhaps been the case with many), to consider them rather as objects of pardon than of resentment. By these means you will conciliate the minds of those who have been alienated from you, without incurring any diminution of your authority; and I trust you will therefore make a moderate and lenient use of your victory." To the same effect Leo also wrote to the viceroy Cardona,† requesting him to interpose his kind offices with Maximilian, "to prevent his treating with severity any of his subjects, and to represent to him, that as on the one hand there was nothing more becoming

* Bemb. Ep. Pont. lib. iv. ep. i. † Ibid. ep. ii.

a prince than placability, lenity, and compassion; so, on the contrary, there was nothing more detestable than cruelty, wrath, and resentment." As the enforcing these truly wise and generous maxims is the chief purpose of the letters referred to, we may justly conclude, that the pontiff sincerely felt the humane sentiments which he has there expressed; and this opinion is indeed confirmed by several subsequent letters, in which he exhorts the conquerors not to treat with severity the neighbouring and subordinate sovereigns who had been obliged to espouse the cause of the French, and especially recommends to their lenity the family of Pallavicini, and William, marquis of Montferrat.*

The Venetian general d'Alviano had, prior to the battle of Novara, advanced as far as Lodi, intending to join the French; but Cardona, although he had before shewn no great alacrity, interposed on this occasion to prevent the junction.† No sooner was the event of that contest known, than d'Alviano, abandoning his former intention, demolished the bridge on the Adda, and retreated to Padua, where he strongly fortified himself. The inhabitants of Milan, thus decidedly left to the mercy of their sovereign, sent deputies to entreat his forgiveness, and, in order to prove the sincerity of their contrition, they put to the sword all the French in Milan, excepting only a few who had the good fortune to obtain shelter in the citadel, which was still held by their countrymen. The other cities of the Milanese adopted a similar measure, and three hundred Gascons who remained in Pavia fell a sacrifice to the cowardice and the fears rather than to the resentment of the populace. The city of Genoa yet acknowledged the authority of Louis XII., but Cardona, desirous of making reparation for his apparent inactivity, despatched Ferdinando Davalos, marquis of Pescara, at the head of four hundred horse and three thousand foot, with which he possessed himself of the place; and having expelled Antoniello Adorno, the French governor, appointed to the office of Doge, Ottaviano Fregoso, who had accompanied him on this expedition, and who liberally rewarded his services by a heavey contribution raised from the inhabitants.

* Bemb. Epist. nom. Leon. X. lib. iii. ep. 3, 4.
† Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 98, &c.

Whilst these transactions occurred in Italy, Henry VIII., in strict performance of the treaty of Mechlin, passed in the month of June, 1513, over to Calais with a powerful body of troops. The earl of Shrewsbury, who had preceded him, had already effected a landing and laid siege to Terouenne. Henry expected to have been joined, according to the terms of the treaty, by a strong reinforcement from the emperor elect, Maximilian; but that mean and crafty sovereign, in order to entitle himself to the payment of the subsidy which Henry had agreed to advance on his appearing in arms against the French king, came in person to the English camp, and offered his services to Henry as a volunteer in his army. The pride of the English monarch was gratified in having an emperor in his service. He assigned to him a subordinate command in the British army, and Maximilian thought it no disgrace to receive, under the name of his wages, one hundred crowns per day.*

The approach of the French army, under the command of the duke de Longueville, to the relief of Terouenne, brought on the memorable engagement of Guingaste, usually called the battle of the spurs, from its having been said that the French made more use of those implements than of their swords on that occasion.† The consequent fall of Terouenne was soon followed by that of the important city of Tournay. The former of these places Henry gave to Maximilian, who razed its foundations, and Terouenne has since been blotted from the map of Europe. The latter he retained under his own authority, but as the bishoprick was then vacant, he conferred it, with its episcopal revenues, which amounted to a considerable sum, on his new favourite Wolsey, who had attended him on his expedition.‡

Whilst Henry was thus carrying his victorious arms into France, he received information of the most alarming nature respecting the safety of his own dominions. James IV., of Scotland, who had married Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII.,[224] availing himself of the absence of his brother-in-law

* Rapin, vol. i. p. 722. † Hume, chap. xxvii.

‡ The manner in which the intelligence of this victory was received at Rome appears by a letter from the cardinal of York to Henry VIII. *Vide* App. No. VII.

and prevailed upon by the representations of the French envoy to unite his arms with those of Louis XII., assembled an army which has been said to have consisted of one hundred thousand men, but which probably was composed of somewhat more than half that number. He then sent a herald to Henry to acquaint him with the reasons of his hostile preparations, the chief of which was to compel him to relinquish the war with France. The answer of Henry, written before Terouenne, was a defiance, and a threat.* He informed him, that he was not surprised to find him breaking the treaty between them upon frivolous pretences, since he thereby imitated the example of his ancestors. He upbraided James, that whilst he know him to be in England he had never avowed an intention of espousing the cause of France, but had waited for his absence to carry his treacherous purpose into execution. He assured him, however, that, being perfectly aware of his character, he had taken such measures before his departure for the defence of his kingdom as he did not doubt would, with the help of God, frustrate the endeavours of all schismatics excommunicated by the pope and the council of the Lateran. James did not, however, wait for this answer; but entering Northumberland in the month of August, 1513, possessed himself of several places of strength. The earl of Surrey, then in Yorkshire at the head of twenty-six thousand men, marched to oppose his progress, and the contest was decided on the ninth day of September by the memorable battle of Flodden, in which the flower of the Scottish nobility, and many dignified ecclesiastics, with eight or ten thousand soldiers, lost their lives.[225] The loss of the English on this occasion was upwards of five thousand men, but among them were few persons of distinction. James IV. was never seen after the battle. The English supposed they had found his body amidst a heap of slain;[226] and although the Scots denied it, yet they were never afterwards able to discover their unfortunate monarch. The intelligence of these important successes no sooner arrived in Rome, than Leo addressed the following letter to Henry VIII., who yet remained in France.

* Rapin. vol. i. p. 724.

Leo X. to Henry VIII. King of England.[227]

"The perusal of your letters, in which you inform me of your victory over the French, and your conquests in that kingdom, has afforded me great pleasure; as well on account of my paternal kindness for you, as from the importance of your achievements. I give thanks to God, that he has favoured the exertions of those who have taken up arms for the pious and commendable purpose of supporting the cause of his church. It is true, I had previously considered as certain the event which has now occurred; for when I knew that in preparing for this attack you had the advantages of prudent councils, immense wealth, and numerous and courageous troops; that you had also the advice of the emperor elect, Maximilian, and, above all, that you were engaged in defending the cause of God, I had sufficient reason to hope for that success which has attended your arms. But whilst I was expressing my joy on this occasion to your ambassadors, and intended to congratulate you upon such an event, I received your further letters, informing me of another and a much more important victory, obtained over James, king of Scotland; who having attempted to invade your dominions, has been defeated with the loss of his life and that of many of his nobility, and the slaughter or captivity of a great part of his troops. Thus a few days have decided a most cruel and dangerous war. On receiving this information, although it was certainly very painful to me to hear of such an effusion of Christian blood, the destruction of so many thousands of the people of our common Lord, and the death of a Christian king of great fame and undoubted courage, the husband of your sister, who has fallen under the sword of a Christian king so nearly allied to him; yet I could not but rejoice in this victory over an enemy who sought to deter you from the prosecution of the commendable cause in which you are now engaged. On this account I have already, on my knees, offered up my thanks to God, who has thus crowned your arms with a double victory, and laid the foundation of that future glory which you have so well begun, in undertaking at so early a period of life the defence of his church. On your part, it will be proper that you should reflect that all

this is his gift, and not the result of human aid. Nor will he refuse to recompense your virtues with much greater honours and rewards, provided that you acknowledge your dependence upon him, with that humility which such an occasion requires. If this be done, it is not only highly probable that the contest in which you are now engaged will have a happy termination, but that he will also in future prepare the way through which you may pass, and by great achievements consecrate your name to immortality. This event will take place, if you propose to yourself the termination of your differences with your present enemies, and apply yourself to humble the pride and subdue the ferocity of the Turks. Even in the situation in which we now stand there is no great time allowed for deliberation. Already the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia are harassed and depopulated by their incursions; whilst Italy herself, by the loss of many strong places on her frontiers, sees these barbarians approaching still nearer; an alarming and a melancholy spectacle! These dangers, if I may be allowed openly to express my feelings, keep me in apprehension and solicitude, and deprive me in a great degree of the satisfaction which I should otherwise experience. I offer up, however, my prayers to God, that as the dignity of his church, of late so greatly impaired, has now been so happily restored by the efforts of those whose duty it is to assert her cause, he will at length place his shrines and temples in security from that conflagration, and the people devoted to his service from those chains, with which they are threatened by his irreconcilable enemies. On all these subjects I have, however, spoken more fully to your ambassador, the bishop of Worcester, who will explain to you yet more particularly my wishes. *Dated 5 Id. Oct.* 1513."

From the purport of this letter it is not difficult to perceive, that however much the pope was gratified by the success of the English monarch, it was by no means his wish that he should prosecute his victories. In fact, Leo had already, by the defeat of the French, and their consequent expulsion from Milan, obtained the object which had led him to take a share in the contest; but besides these decisive events, other circum-

stances had occurred which induced the pope to relax in his hostility against the French monarch. A body of fifteen thousand Swiss had made an irruption into the territories of France, where they had carried terror and consternation through the country, and having besieged Dijon, had compelled the duke de la Tremouille, who had shut himself up in that fortress, to a most disgraceful capitulation; by which he agreed that his sovereign should, in consideration of the retreat of the Swiss, relinquish all pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and should pay them the enormous sum of six hundred thousand crowns; twenty thousand of which he immediately advanced to them. The apprehensions which the pope had entertained for the safety of Italy were therefore for the present sufficiently allayed. Nor is it improbable that Henry allowed himself to be prevailed upon by the letter of the pope to relax in his hostilities, for he soon afterwards withdrew his armies, and on the seventeenth day of October left Lisle, and arrived on the twenty-fourth at his palace at Richmond.

Nor did Leo relinquish his endeavours to reconcile the differences which had so long subsisted between the Venetians and the emperor elect; but finding that the senate continued to disregard his earnest recommendations, and being called upon by Maximilian to fulfil the treaty formed with Julius II. by a supply of troops, he despatched a body of two hundred men at arms and two thousand horse to the assistance of his allies. Attacked at the same time by the emperor elect, the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Milan, and threatened by the Swiss, who were at once the conquerors of the French and the terror of Italy, the Venetians had now no resource but in the courage of their troops and the talents of their commanders. The first attack of the allied army under the command of Cardona was directed against the city of Padua, but the great extent and strength of the place, and the number and courage of the troops employed under d'Alviano in its defence, frustrated the efforts of the allies, and after ten days ineffectually employed in its vicinity they were obliged to retire to Vicenza. Unable to dislodge the Venetians from Padua, they resolved to plunder the fertile territories in the vicinity of the Brenta, which intention they carried into

execution with circumstances of peculiar enormity, continuing their excursions along the Adriatic coast, whence they even discharged their artillery against the city of Venice, to the no small vexation and terror of the inhabitants.* These measures induced d'Alviano to take the field in the hopes of cutting off their retreat. He was accompanied by the Venetian commissaries, Andrea Gritti and Andrea Loredano. By a judicious arrangement on the banks of the Brenta and the Bachiglione he had already reduced the allied army to great straits. The commissaries were earnest with him to persevere in a system which would subdue their enemies by famine; but the impetuosity of d'Alviano was not to be restrained; and on the seventh day of October an engagement took place about three miles from Vicenza, which was not less obstinate and bloody in proportion to the number of the combatants, than any that Italy had before seen. The attack of the allies was led by Prospero Colonna and Ferdinando Davalos. For some time the victory remained doubtful; but the Venetians were at length obliged to yield, if not to the courage, to the superior numbers of their opponents, with the loss in killed and prisoners of about five thousand men. Among the latter were the Venetian Admiral Gian-Paolo Baglioni, and Andrea Loredano, one of the legates of the camp, who afterwards lost his life in a contest among the allies to determine which of them should hold him in custody. All the baggage and artillery of the Venetians fell into the hands of their enemies, who returned the same evening in triumph to Vicenza.[28]

These hardy republicans, who had thus a second time braved the united attack of the principal powers of Europe, were not, however, yet subdued. The efforts of their commander, Renzo da Ceri, who had possessed himself of the strong city of Crema, where he not only defended himself against the army of the allies under Prospero Colonna, but frequently made excursions and plundered his enemies of the contributions which they had raised in the adjacent districts, prevented the Venetians from being wholly deprived of their continental possessions. Their situation was, however, such

* Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 102.

as would not admit of further hazard; and they therefore at length listened to the admonitions of the pope, and expressed their willingness to submit to him the decision of their differences with the emperor elect.* The cardinal of Gurck, to whom Maximilian had intrusted the direction of his army, now took upon himself the more pacific office of his ambassador, and hastened to Rome to negotiate the proposed treaty; which was, however, long protracted by the difficulties which Leo and his ministers experienced in satisfying the avarice and ambition of this martial ecclesiastic.

On the restoration of Maximilian Sforza to the duchy of Milan, the cardinals in the interests of Louis XII. had removed their assembly, which they dignified by the name of a council, to Asti, from which place they were soon afterwards obliged to retire for safety to Lyons. For the purpose of frustrating their proceedings, which threatened no less than a total schism in the Christian church, and of effecting such salutary regulations in point of discipline as might deprive the pretended council of any necessity of interfering on that head, Leo determined to renew the meetings of the council of the Lateran, which had been opened by Julius II. and suspended only by his death. To this end, he gave directions that apartments should be prepared for him in the Lateran palace, where he determined to reside, that he might at all times be ready to attend the deliberations in person; and on the twenty-seventh day of April, 1513, he accordingly opened the sixth session with great magnificence. If the number and respectablity of the dignified ecclesiastics who were present on this occasion did honour to the pontiff, the conduct of Leo in the discharge of his office is acknowledged to have conferred no less dignity on the meeting. He was now in the prime of life; his manners grave but not austere; and in the performance of those public acts of devotion which were at some times incumbent upon him, he acquitted himself with a grace and a decorum which gave additional effect to the splendid ceremonies of that religion of which he was the head. After the hymn *Veni Creator*, Leo delivered a pasto-

* Lünig. Cod. Ital. Diplomat. tom. ii. p. 2010. Jovius, in Vita Leon. X. lib. iii. p. 64. Guicciard. lib. xi. *et* Bembi Epist. nom. Leon. X.

ral oration, in which he exhorted the assembled fathers to use their utmost endeavours for the benefit of the church, and declared it to be his intention to continue the council until the establishment of a general peace among the princes of Christendom.*

Having thus attended to the regulation of the temporal and ecclesiastical concerns of the Roman see, Leo now conceived that he might, without any imputation of indecorum, confer upon such of his relations and friends as had continued faithful to him during his adverse fortune, and whose characters seemed to merit such a distinction, some of those high and lucrative offices of the church which he was now enabled to bestow. He was also, in all probability, desirous of increasing his influence in the sacred college by the introduction of such additional members as he knew he should find on all occasions firmly attached to his interests, and was perhaps not less actuated by the disposition, so common to the Roman pontiffs, of aggrandizing the individuals of his own family. Having therefore declared his intention of supplying the vacant seats in the college of cardinals, he, on the twenty-third day of September, 1513, nominated to that rank, Lorenzo Pucci, Giulio de' Medici, Bernardo Dovizi, and Innocenzio Cibò; who soon afterwards took their seats in the general council. The first of these persons was a fellow-citizen of the pontiff; who, born of a good family and well educated, had early devoted himself to the church, and having had the good fortune to obtain the favour of Julius II., had under that pontiff risen to the rank of apostolic datary, and been employed by him in the most important affairs of the state. By his talents and address Pucci rendered himself conspicuous in the subsequent meetings of the Lateran council, and acted an important part during the remainder of this pontificate, particularly in the approaching disturbances occasioned by the opposition of Luther to the Roman see. The partiality of which Leo might have been accused, in selecting his cousin Giulio de' Medici for this distinguished honour, was sufficiently palliated by the acknowledged abilities and unwearied industry of this his faithful associate, the gravity

* Lateran. Concil. p. 75.

of whose disposition was happily formed to remedy or correct the occasional sallies of vivacity which distinguished the supreme pontiff. It is true the illegitimacy of his birth would, according to the canons of the church, have formed an insuperable bar to this promotion; but there was no great difficulty in adducing evidence to prove that the mother of Giulio, before her cohabitation with his father Giuliano, the brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent, had received from him a promise of marriage; which was considered as sufficient to enable the pope to dispense with the rigour of the law.[229] Giulio assumed the title of S. Maria in Domenica, by which the pontiff had formerly been distinguished; but was from henceforth usually called the cardinal de' Medici.*

In appointing to the rank of cardinal Bernardo Dovizi, Leo repaid the obligations which he owed to one of his first instructors, of whose services he had availed himself on many important occasions. The cardinal da Bibbiena, as he was afterwards called, was not one of those ecclesiastics who conceive that on entering the church they shut out the pleasures of the world. Though acknowledged to possess considerable dexterity in the affairs of state, he did not scruple at times to lay aside his gravity, and to contribute by his wit and vivacity to the amusement of his reverend associates; and his comedy of "Calandra" will perpetuate his name, when his political talents and high ecclesiastical rank will probably be disregarded and forgotten. After his preferment, the cardinal da Bibbiena became a distinguished promoter of literature and of the arts; and such was his attachment to the great painter Raffaello d'Urbino, that he had consented to give him his niece in marriage; a connection which it has been supposed was prevented only by the premature death of that accomplished artist.†

The last of the newly appointed cardinals, Innocenzio Cibò, was the grandson of Innocent VIII., being the offspring of Francesco Cibò, son of that pontiff by Maddalena, sister of Leo X. He was yet too young to have risen by any talents

* He immediately announced his elevation to Henry VIII. in very respectful terms. *Vide* App. No. VIII.

† Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, tom. ii. p. 132. Ed. di Bottari. Rom. 1759.

or merits of his own, but the advantages of his birth would probably have compensated for much greater defects than had fallen to the share of this young man. In the letter which Leo thought proper to address on this occasion to Ferdinand of Aragon, he has briefly enumerated the merits, or pretensions, of the newly-created cardinals. "Although I know," says he, "that you are well advised of the public transactions of this place by the diligence of your envoy, yet I have thought it proper that you should learn from myself what has lately been done for the credit and advantage of the Roman state; not doubting, from your well-known affection to the Christian church, that it will prove equally agreeable to you as to myself. You will therefore understand, that on the twenty-third day of September, with the assent of my brethren, the cardinals of the church, I, for various and weighty reasons, elected into the sacred college, Lorenzo Pucci, my domestic datary, my cousin Giulio de' Medici, archbishop elect of Florence, Bernardo Dovizi of Bibbiena, and Innocenzio Cibò, the son of my sister, and grandson of Pope Innocent VIII. With the prudence and integrity of three of these, as well as with their skill and experience in the transaction of public affairs, you are well acquainted; and I trust they will add to the stability and to the honour of the church. As to Innocenzio, I hope he will not disappoint the expectations formed of him. His capacity is excellent, his morals irreproachable, and his natural endowments are ornamented by his proficiency in literary studies; insomuch that no one can be more accomplished, virtuous, or engaging." Another reason alleged by Leo for admitting into the college a member who had as yet scarcely completed his twenty-first year, was his sense of the favours which he had himself, at so early an age, received from Innocent VIII., which he expressed by saying, "That which I received from Innocent, to Innocent I restore."

During the short interval of time which had elapsed between the return of the Medici to Florence and the elevation of Leo X. the affairs of that turbulent city had been directed by Giuliano, the brother of the pontiff; but in the deliberations on this subject in the Roman court, it was determined that Giuliano should relinquish his authority, and that the

direction of the Florentine government should be intrusted to Lorenzo, the son of the unfortunate Piero, under the immediate direction of Giulio de' Medici, and the ultimate superintendence of the pope. This measure has been attributed to various causes, and, in particular, to the dislike of Giuliano to the trouble attending the detail of public affairs; to the expectation of his obtaining by the authority of his brother a situation of still greater importance; and to the prior claims of Lorenzo to this authority, as representative of the elder branch of his family, in which it had become in a manner hereditary.* It is, however, yet more probable, that the disposition which Giuliano had always shewn to gratify the wishes of the citizens, of which many instances are on record,[230] had induced his more politic relations to doubt his resolution and to distrust his measures; and that they therefore chose to place in his stead a young man in whose name they might themselves, in fact, govern the republic. At this time Lorenzo was in the twenty-first year of his age, having been born on the thirteenth day of September, 1492, a few months before the death of his grandfather, Lorenzo the Magnificent.† After the expulsion of his family from Florence, he had been brought up by his mother, Alfonsina Orsino, and had early felt the effects of popular resentment, having been banished a second time from his native place when only fifteen years of age, on account of the marriage of his sister Clarice with Filippo Strozzi; an event in which he could have had no responsible share. Lorenzo therefore returned to Florence, where the government was restored to nearly the same form in which it had subsisted in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent.‡ Two councils were formed; one of which consisted of seventy members, who were elected for life; the other of one hundred members, who were nominated every six months, and in which all persons who had served the office of Gonfaloniere might also attend as often as they thought proper. The province of the council of seventy was to propose and deliberate on all regulations for the benefit of the state; but before these could be passed

* Ammirato, Ist. Fior. lib. xxix. vol. iii. p. 315.
† Ibid. in Opusc. vol. iii. p. 102.
‡ Nerli, Comment. lib. vi. p. 126.

into laws they were also to be considered and approved by the greater council, with whom the power of granting pecuniary supplies and imposing taxes on the people was still allowed to reside. Lorenzo himself, instead of being distinguished by any honorary title, was appointed one of the council of seventy, and took his place among his fellow-citizens; but under this external form of a free government, the authority of the Medici was as absolute as if they had openly assumed the direction of the state. The assembly of seventy was, in fact, a privy council, nominated at their pleasure, and implicitly following their directions; whilst the greater assembly served merely as a screen to hide from the people the deformity of a despotic government, and as a pretext to induce them to believe that they were still, in some measure, their own rulers.

The arrival of Giuliano de' Medici to take up his residence at Rome was considered by the citizens as a great honour; and his affability, generosity, and elegant accomplishments, soon procured him a very considerable share of public favour. On his being admitted to the privileges of a Roman citizen, which ceremony took place about the middle of the month of September, 1513, a temporary theatre was erected in the square of the Capitol; where a splendid entertainment was prepared, and various poetical compositions were recited or sung by persons equally distinguished by their talents, and respectable by their rank. The second day was devoted to the representation of the "Penulus" of Plautus. These exhibitions, which were resorted to by an immense concourse of people, received every decoration which the taste of the times and the munificence of the pontiff could bestow; and seemed to recall those ages when Rome was the mistress of the world, and expended in magnificent spectacles the wealth of tributary nations. Under the influence of the pontifical favour, talents and learning again revived; and "the Theatre of the Capitol" is celebrated by Aurelius Serenus of Monopoli, in a Latin poem of no inconsiderable length, which has been preserved to the present times. The honours conferred on his brother by the Roman people Leo affected to consider as a favour to himself; and as a proof of his generosity and paternal regard, he diminished the oppres-

sive tax upon salt, enlarged the authority of the civil magistrates, and by many public immunities and individual favours sought to secure to himself the affections of his subjects. On this occasion the Roman citizens were not ungrateful. By the general consent of all ranks, a marble statue of the pontiff, the workmanship of the Sicilian sculptor Giacomo del Duca, a pupil of Michel Agnolo,* was erected in the Capitol, under which was inscribed

OPTIMI. LIBERALISSIMIQUE. PONTIFICIS.
MEMORIÆ.
S. P. Q. R.

The total ruin of the French cause in Italy had concurred with the well-regulated proceedings of the council of the Lateran in discrediting the measures and destroying the authority of the assembly held at Lyons; and the character for lenity and generosity which Leo had already acquired, in affording the hope of pardon to the refractory ecclesiastics, became also a powerful motive for their submission. Eager to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity of effecting a reconciliation, the cardinals Sanseverino and Carvajal took shipping from France and arrived at the port of Leghorn, whence they proceeded, without interruption, by Pisa to Florence. On their arrival at this place, Leo was informed of their intentions; but although it was his wish to pardon their transgressions, he did not think it advisable to suffer them to proceed to Rome until he had prepared the way for their reception. As well, however, for their safety as for his own honour, he directed that they should remain at Florence under a guard; and that as they had been deprived by Julius II., which deprivation had been confirmed by the council of the Lateran, they should lay aside the habiliments of their former rank.† These directions were communicated to the humbled ecclesiastics by the bishop of Orvieto, whom Leo had despatched for that purpose, and who at the same time assured them of the lenient intentions of the pope, which their proper submission would assist him in carrying into effect. In truth, the hostility between Leo and these cardinals was rather of a political than a personal nature; and al-

* Vasari, ii. p. 50; iii. p. 312.
† Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 32.

though one of them had presided over the council of Milan, and the other had marched at the head of the French army at the battle of Ravenna, yet these circumstances had not obliterated the remembrance of former kindness, and Leo was, perhaps, gratified in evincing to the world that he was superior to the vindictive impulse of long-continued resentment. In preparing the way for this reconciliation, he first obtained a decree of the council of Lateran, by which all those prelates and ecclesiastics who had been pronounced schismatical by his predecessor should be allowed to come in and make their submission, at any time prior to the end of November, 1513. This decree was, however, strongly opposed, not only by Matthew Schinner, cardinal of Sion, who spoke the opinions of the Helvetic state, and by Christopher Bambridge, cardinal of York, the representative of the king of England, but by the ambassadors of the emperor elect and of the king of Spain; all of whom expressed their dislike of a measure so derogatory to the majesty of the apostolic see, and strongly represented to the pope the pernicious consequences of granting a pardon to the chief authors of such a dangerous scandal to the church; at the same time highly commending the conduct of Julius II., who to the last hour of his life had refused to listen to any proposals of reconciliation. Leo was not, however, to be moved from his purpose. The repentant cardinals were ready to sign their recantation, and the council had approved the terms in which it was expressed. On the evening preceding the day appointed for their restitution they accordingly entered the city, deprived of the habit and insignia of their rank, and took up their abode in the Vatican. In the morning, they presented themselves before the pope, who was prepared to receive them in the consistory, accompanied by all the cardinals, except those of Sion and of York, who refused to be present. In the simple habit of priests, and with black bonnets, they were led through the most public parts of the Vatican, where their humiliation was witnessed by a great concourse of people, who acknowledged that by this act of penance they had made a sufficient atonement for the errors of their past conduct. They were then introduced into the consistory, where they entreated, on their knees, the pardon of the pope and cardinals, approving all that had been

done by Julius II., particularly the act of their own privation, and disavowing the *conciliabulum* of Pisa and Milan as schismatical and detestable. Having then subscribed their confession, they were allowed to rise; after which they made their obeisance and saluted the cardinals, who did not rise from their seats in return. This mortifying ceremony being concluded, they were once more invested with their former habits, and took their places among their brethren, in the same order in which they had sat before their privation;* but this indulgence extended only to their rank, and not to their benefices and ecclesiastical revenues, which having been conferred on others during their delinquency, could not be restored.

In the deplorable condition to which the events of a few months had reduced the affairs of Louis XII., it was at least fortunate for him that some of his adversaries wanted the talents, and others the inclination, to avail themselves of their success. But although Henry VIII. had returned to his own dominions, he avowed his intention of renewing his attack, in the ensuing spring, with a still more powerful armament, for the equipment of which he had already begun to make preparations.[231] The treaty entered into between the duke de la Tremouille and the Swiss had, in all probability, prevented those formidable adversaries from proceeding directly to Paris, which, after the capture of Dijon, they might have done without difficulty;† but Louis could neither discharge the immense sum which the duke had, in his name, stipulated to pay, nor would he relinquish his pretensions to the duchy of Milan. The terms which he proposed to the Swiss, instead of those which had been solemnly agreed upon, tended only still further to exasperate them; and they threatened within a limited time to decapitate the hostages given at Dijon, if the treaty was not punctually fulfilled. These threats they would, in all probability, have carried into execution, had not the hostages effected their escape; but this event, as it increased the resentment of the Swiss, enhanced the dangers of the French monarch, who could only expect the consequences

* A full account of this transaction is given by Leo himself to the emperor elect, Maximilian, *vide* Bembi, Ep. Pont. lib. iii. ep. 23.

† Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 63.

of their vengeance in a still more formidable attack. His apprehensions were further excited by the interception of a letter from Ferdinand of Aragon to his envoy at the imperial court, in which he proposed that the duchy of Milan should be seized upon, and the sovereignty vested in Ferdinand, the younger brother of the archduke Charles, afterwards Charles V., which would give the united houses of Austria and Spain a decided ascendency in Italy;* that Maximilian might then assume the pontifical throne, as it had always been his wish to do, and resign to his grandson Charles the imperial crown; and although Ferdinand prudently observed, that time and opportunity would be requisite to carry these designs into effect, yet Louis could not contemplate without serious alarm a project which was intended to exclude him from all further interference in the affairs of Italy, and reduce him to the rank of a subordinate power. In addition to the vexations which surrounded him as to his temporal concerns, he still laboured under the excommunication pronounced against him by Julius II.; and as his queen, Anne of Bretagne, was a zealous daughter of the church, she was incessant in her representations to the harassed monarch to return to his allegiance to the holy see.† Whether, as some historians suppose, it was merely in consequence of these solicitations, and the remorse of his own conscience, or whether, as is more probably the case, he was prompted by the apprehensions which he so justly entertained of his numerous and powerful enemies, he conceived it was now high time to effect a reconciliation with the pope. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and on the sixth day of November, 1513, a treaty was signed at the abbey of Corbey, by which the king agreed to renounce the council of Pisa, and declared his assent to that of the Lateran; promising also to shew no favour in future to the council of Pisa, and to expel those who should adhere to it from his dominions.‡ The reconciliation of the French monarch to the church was not, however, without its difficulties, and three cardinals were appointed to consider on the means to be adopted for securing the honour of the king and the dignity of the holy

* Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 65. † Mezerai, Hist. de Fr. tom. iv.
‡ Du Mont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 175.

see. Their deliberations were not of long continuance; and in the eighth session of the Lateran council, which was held on the last day of the year 1513, the envoys of the king of France were admitted; who, producing the mandate of their sovereign, renounced, in his name, the proceedings of the council of Pisa, and expressed in ample terms his adherence to that of the Lateran. They also engaged, that six of the French prelates who had been present at the council of Pisa should proceed to Rome, to make the formal submission of the Gallican church. The humiliation of Louis XII. was now complete; and Leo, with the consent of the council, gave him full absolution for all past offences against the holy see.

CHAPTER XI.

1513—1514.

Extraordinary depression of polite learning in Rome—State of the Roman Academy—High expectations formed of Leo X.—The Gymnasium or Roman university restored—Leo X. encourages the study of the Greek tongue—Giovanni Lascar—Letter of Leo X. to Marcus Musurus—The Greek Institute founded in Rome—Greek verses of Musurus prefixed to the first Edition of Plato—Musurus appointed archbishop of Malvasia—Dedication by Aldo Manuzio of the works of Plato to Leo X.—Leo grants him the pontifical privilege for publishing the Greek and Roman authors—Greek Press established by Leo X. at Rome, and works there published—Agostino Chisi, a merchant at Rome and a promoter of Literature—Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo—Greek Press of Zaccaria Calliergo—Greek Literature promoted by learned Italians—Varino Camerti—His Thesaurus Cornucopiæ—Is appointed librarian to the Medici family and bishop of Nocera—His Apophthegms—His Greek Dictionary under the name of Phavorinus—Scipione Forteguerra, called Carteromachus—Urbano Bolzanio—Publishes the first grammatical rules in Latin for the Greek language—Leo obtains a more complete copy of the works of Tacitus—Employs Beroaldo to publish it—The work pirated by Minuziano of Milan—Rise of the study of Oriental literature—Teseo Ambrogio appointed by Leo X. professor of the eastern tongues in Bologna—His elementary work on the Chaldean and other languages—Agostino Giustiniano publishes a Polyglot edition of the Psalter—Great Complutensian Polyglot of cardinal Ximenes dedicated to Leo X.—Leo directs the translation of the scriptures by Pagnini to be published at his expense—Encourages researches for eastern manuscripts.

Of the state of literature in Rome at the time when Leo X., then cardinal de' Medici, first took up his residence in that city, some account has already been given in a former part of this work.* Since that period upwards of twenty years had elapsed without affording any striking symptoms of improvement. Whoever takes a retrospect of the momentous events

* *Vide* chap. ii.

which had occurred during that interval, will be at no loss to account for that neglect of liberal studies which was apparent in some degree throughout the whole extent of Italy, but was particularly observable at Rome. The descent of Charles VIII., the contests between the French and Spanish monarchs for the crown of Naples, the various irruptions of Louis XII. for the recovery of Milan, the restless ambition of Alexander VI. and the martial ferocity of Julius II., had concurred to distract the attention, to oppress the faculties, and to engage in political intrigues or in military pursuits, those talents which might otherwise have been devoted to better purposes. Amidst the sacking of cities, the downfal of states, the extinction or the exile of powerful families and distinguished patrons of literature, and all the horrors of domestic war, was it possible for the sciences, the muses, and the arts, to pursue their peaceable and elegant avocations?

> "Whilst thundering Ætna rolls his floods of flame,
> Shall Daphne crop the flowers by Arethusa's stream?" [232]

The indefatigable researches of the Italian scholars have indeed discovered some slight traces of that literary association, first formed by Pomponius Lætus, and which, after having been dispersed by the barbarity of Paul II. had again been restored by the laudable exertions of Angelo Collocci, Paolo Cortese, Jacopo Sadoleti, the younger Beroaldo, and a few other learned men. It appears that these persons met together at stated times, that they elected a dictator, and amused themselves with literary pursuits; but they seem to have devoted their leisure hours rather to pleasure than to improvement. Their talents were employed chiefly on ludicrous subjects,[233] and the muses to whom they paid their devotions were too often selected from the courtesans of Rome.[234] The patronage afforded to these studies by Leo X., whilst he was yet a cardinal, was of a much more respectable and effectual nature. His house, which was situated in the *Forum Agonale*, now called the *Piazza Navona*, was the constant resort of all those who to the honours of their rank united any pretensions to literary acquirements. It is not, therefore, surprising, that on his elevation to the pontificate, those men of talents and learning who had been accustomed to share his favour and to partake of his bounty should con-

sider this event as the harbinger of general prosperity, and the opening of a better age. This exultation frequently burst forth in their writings; and Leo found himself commended on every hand for labours which he had yet to perform.

"—— Now comes the happier age, so long foretold,
When the true Pastor guards his favour'd fold;
Soon shall the streams with honied sweetness flow,
And truth and justice fix their seats below;
Retiring Mars his dreadful anger cease,
And all the world be hush'd in lasting peace." *

The high expectations formed of him in the commencement of his pontificate are yet more fully expressed by another of his contemporaries, who might on this occasion have rejoiced in the completion of his own auguries.

"——— for now, when all the earth
Boasts none more great, more excellent than thee,
Be it thy task to watch with ceaseless care
O'er all the race of man; by holy laws
To sanction virtue; and by just rewards
Raise drooping merit and ingenuous worth.
Nor these alone, but mightier tasks than these,
Await thee. Soon the cheering smile of peace
Shall glad the nations. Kings, and mighty lords,
And warlike leaders, cease their hostile ire,
And at thy bidding join their willing hands." [as]

The number and importunity of these writers, who intruded upon him at every step with their officious suggestions, became indeed so remarkable, as to give occasion to compare them to apes, who imagined they could instruct or amuse the lion; a charge which one of their brethren has thus acknowledged:

"For oft as we, the muses' faithful train,
Strive with our songs to sooth thy hours of pain;
What, shall he ne'er, they cry, their teasing 'scape?
The lion still tormented by the ape!
From that blest day when first his glory rose,
They haunt his footsteps wheresoe'er he goes;
At home, abroad, within his halls immured,
Nor in his chamber nor his bed secured;
Debarr'd alike with lonely step to rove
Where spreads the prospect or where glooms the grove.

* L. Parmenius Genesius, de Leone X. Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. v. p. 282.

—Whether, with mighty cares of state oppreat,
The fate of Nations labours in his breast,
Or, wearied with the toils which grandeur knows,
He takes his meal or sinks in bland repose;
Yet still they follow, exquisite to vex,
His patience weary and his thoughts perplex;
So, where the monarch of the wood resorts,
In awkward attitudes the monkey sports;
Turns his bare haunch and twirls his tail on high,
More pertinacious than a teasing fly."

The poet then adverts to the conduct of Leo towards the sons of the muses.

" But more indulgent thou their labours view
And like the lion bear the trifling crew."

He afterwards proceeds in a higher strain to repel the censure, and to justify the attention paid by the poets to the conduct of the pontiff.

" Yes, all imports us that thy mind revolves;
Thy secret counsels, and thy deep resolves,
To heal the wounds that Europe now deplores,
And turn the tide of war on Turkey's shores;
Nor these alone, but bolder themes, inspire
The daring bard that glows with heavenly fire.*

This apology seems to have been admitted by the pontiff; who, if he was not incited to the laudable acts which distinguish his pontificate by the exhortations of his literary admirers, was neither displeased with the high expectations which had been formed of him, nor inattentive in availing himself of every opportunity to fulfil them.

Among the establishments which had been formed in Rome for the promotion of more serious studies, the *Gymnasium*, or college, yet subsisted, although in a depressed and languid state, in consequence of the turbulent events of the preceding pontificate. This institution was founded by Eugenius IV.,[236] but the more modern and convenient building which was appropriated to its use, was erected by Alexander VI., who had also called to Rome the most distinguished professors in Italy, had rewarded them with liberal salaries, and regulated the discipline of the place so as to render it of essential service to the promotion of liberal studies. The revenues destined by Alexander for the support of this institution are said to have

* Jo. Pierii Valeriani, ad Leonem X. *Vide* Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. x. p. 31.

arisen from the impositions charged upon the Jews within the ecclesiastical states; but from whatever source they were derived, they had been perverted during the pontificate of Julius II. to the purposes of contention and warfare. No sooner, however, was Leo seated in the pontifical chair, than this seminary became one of the chief objects of his attention. The revenues of the college were restored, and the chairs of its professors were filled with the most eminent scholars, who were attracted from every part of Europe by the reputation and liberality of the pontiff.* From the original roll of the Roman academy, as it existed in 1514, being the year after its re-establishment by Leo X.,[237] it appears that the number of professors who received a remuneration from the bounty of the pontiff, and many of whom enjoyed considerable salaries, amounted to nearly one hundred; that they read lectures in theology, in the civil and canon law, in medicine, in moral philosophy, in logic, in rhetoric, and in mathematics; and that there was even a professor of botany and the medical science of plants, which may perhaps be with confidence considered as the earliest instance of a public establishment for that purpose.[238] Among these professors we find the names of many persons of great eminence in the annals of literature, and whose merits will necessarily occur to our future notice. Having thus supplied the Roman college with proper instructors, the next care of the pontiff was to render the benefits to be derived from it as general and extensive as possible; "lest," as he expressed it, "there should at times be more lecturers than hearers." He therefore restored to the pupils their ancient privileges and immunities; he ordered that the lectures should be read both in the morning and evening, and should not be interrupted on account of the numerous festivals of the Roman church.† The assiduity with which he promoted this great establishment, not only at this period, but throughout his whole pontificate, sufficiently appears from the numerous letters addressed by him to the most distinguished scholars of the time, inviting their assistance, and requesting them to take up their residence at Rome. In a bull, dated in

* The bull of establishment issued by Leo. X. anno 1513, is given by Cherubini, vol. i. p. 404.—Henke, Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 108.

† Marini, Lettera, *ut sup.* p. 7.

the year 1514, he has himself recapitulated, with laudable exultation, the important services rendered to the cause of literature and science, by the renovation of this institution.* "Having lately," says he, "been called by Divine Providence to the office of supreme pontiff, and having restored to our beloved subjects their rights, we have, among other things, re-granted to the Roman university those revenues which had for many years been perverted to other purposes. And to the end that the city of Rome may assume that superiority over the rest of the world in literary studies, which she already enjoys in other respects, we have, from different parts, obtained the assistance of men acquainted with every branch of learning, whom we have appointed professors; on which account, even in the first year of our pontificate, such numbers of students have resorted to this place, that the university of Rome is likely soon to be held in higher estimation than any other in Italy."

But amidst the efforts of Leo for the improvement of letters and of science, his attention was, perhaps, yet more particularly turned towards the promotion of the study of the Greek tongue; without which he was convinced, in the language of one of his contemporaries, that the Romans themselves would not have had any learning to boast of.† In order to give new vigour to this study, which had long languished for want of encouragement, he determined to avail himself of the services of Giovanni Lascar, a noble and learned Greek, who had in his youth been driven from his country by the progress of the Turkish arms, and had been indebted to the bounty of the cardinal Bessarion for his education and consequent eminence. Having made a considerable proficiency at the university of Padua, Lascar had been commissioned by Lorenzo de' Medici to travel to Greece, with the view of collecting ancient manuscripts; for which purpose he took two journeys, in the latter of which he appears to have been very successful.‡ After the death of Lorenzo, and the expulsion of his surviving family from Florence, Lascar accompanied Charles VIII. into France, where he still continued to inculcate the principles of Grecian literature, and where the

* Tirab. 7, part i. p. 111. Fabr. in Vita Leon. X. p. 71.
† Codri Urcei Serm. iii. in Oper. p. 92.
‡ Hodius, de Græc. Illustr. p. 249. Life of Lor. de' Med.

celebrated Budæus was glad to avail himself of his instructions. On the death of that monarch, he obtained in an eminent degree the confidence of his successor, Louis XII., who sent him, in the year 1503, as his ambassador to the state of Venice, in which capacity he remained there until the year 1508. The contests which arose between Louis XII. and the Venetians, in consequence of the memorable league of Cambray, terminated his diplomatic functions; but it is conjectured that Lascar still resided at Venice, although in a private capacity; and it is certain, that at this place he had the credit of instructing the celebrated Erasmus. On the elevation of Leo to the pontificate, Lascar wrote to congratulate him, and immediately afterwards quitted Venice to pay him a visit at Rome. On his way, he received a letter from the pope, assuring him of his friendship, and of his constant attention to the promotion of those studies by which Lascar was himself so eminently distinguished. After deliberating with Lascar on the means to be adopted for facilitating and extending the study of the Greek tongue, Leo formed the design of inviting a number of young and noble Greeks to quit their country and take up their residence under his protection at Rome; where, by the directions of Lascar, they were not only to prosecute the study of their native tongue, but to be instructed also in Latin literature. On the recommendation of Lascar,[229] the pontiff also addressed himself on this occasion to Marcus Musurus, one of the disciples of Lascar, who, after having taught in the university of Padua, had chosen his residence at Venice. The letter written by Leo on this occasion, whilst it sufficiently explains the object which he had in view, will shew with what ardour he engaged in its prosecution.

Leo X. to Marcus Musurus.

"Having a most earnest desire to promote the study of the Greek language and of Grecian literature, which are now almost extinct, and to encourage the liberal arts as far as lies in my power, and being well convinced of your great learning and singular judgment, I request that you will take the trouble of inviting from Greece ten young men, or as many more as you may think proper, of good education, and virtuous disposition; who may compose a seminary of liberal

studies, and from whom the Italians may derive the proper use and knowledge of the Greek tongue. On this subject you will be more fully instructed by Giovanni Lascar, whose virtues and learning have deservedly rendered him dear to me. I have a confidence also, that from the respect and kindness which you have already shown me, you will apply with the utmost diligence to effect what may seem to you to be necessary for accomplishing the purposes which I have in view." *Dated* viii. *Id. Aug.* 1513.*

For the accommodation of these illustrious strangers, Leo purchased from the cardinal of Sion his residence on the Esquilian hill, which he converted into an academy for the study of Grecian literature, and of which he intrusted the chief direction to Lascar, to whom he assigned a liberal pension. This establishment is frequently adverted to in terms of high commendation by the writers of this period.

At the very time when Leo requested the assistance of Musurus, for the establishment of his Greek seminary in Rome, that elegant scholar was terminating the first edition, in the original Greek, of the writings of Plato, of which great work he had, by the desire of Aldo Manuzio, superintended the printing. To this edition he prefixed a copy of Greek verses, which are so extremely applicable to the circumstances of the times, and to the character and conduct of the pontiff, that they cannot fail, even in a translation, of throwing additional light on these subjects.†

The result of these verses, and of the assiduity of Musurus in executing the commission intrusted to him by the pope, was manifested in his appointment to the archbishopric of Malvasia in the Morea,[240] which had lately become vacant by the death of Manilius Rhallus, another learned Greek, on whom Leo had before conferred that dignity as a reward for his talents and his learning.[241] Nor did Musurus live long to enjoy his honours, having died at Rome in the autumn of the year 1517. It has been asserted, on the authority of Valerianus and Jovius, that his death was occasioned by his regret

* Bemb. Epist. lib. iv. ep. 8. Hodius, de Græc. Illustr. p. 251.

† Of these verses, a handsome edition was published at Cambridge, in 1797, by Samuel Butler, A.B. (afterwards bishop of Lichfield). An English translation of them will be found in the App. No. X.

and vexation at not having been honoured with the purple as a reward for his literary labours; but there seems to be neither truth nor probability in this opinion; and although the Greek poem of Musurus entitled its author to rank with the most celebrated scholars of the age,* yet the munificence of the pope seems not to have been inferior to the pretensions of the poet. In fact, those writers, always in search of the marvellous, are frequently obliged to resort to the doubtful or the false in order to complete their literary wonders; which, if true, would be sufficient to deter posterity from those studies, that, according to their representation, can only terminate in disappointment, poverty, and disgrace.

The before-mentioned edition of the works of Plato was published in the month of September, 1513, and is allowed to have conferred great honour, not only on the talents and diligence of Musurus, but on the professional abilities of Aldo; who has prefixed to it a dedication in prose to Leo X., in which that eminent printer refers in so particular a manner to the character of the pontiff, and to the expectations formed of him at this early period, as to render some parts of it peculiarly interesting.

"It it an ancient proverb, most holy father," says he, "that when the head aches, all the members suffer. If this be true as to the chief part of the human body, it is still more so with respect to the manners and conduct of those princes and great men, who are, as it were, the head of the people. It has been shewn by long experience, that such as governors are, such are the subjects; and that whatever the former propose for their imitation, the latter are also eager to copy. On this account your elevation to the pontificate was regarded with such satisfaction by all Christians, that they did not hesitate to congratulate each other on the cessation of those evils by which we have been so long afflicted, and on the return of the blessings which distinguished the golden age. We have, said they, obtained a prince, a pontiff, and a father, such as we have long wished, and of whose assistance, in these times, we stand in the greatest need. This I have myself heard repeated from

* Valer. de Literat. infel. lib. i. p. 16. Jovius, in Iscritt. p. 63.

all quarters. Nor is their confidence unfounded; for many things concur to shew that you will fulfil their wishes. First, it may truly be observed, that even from your infancy until your arrival at the pontificate, your life and conduct have been pious and irreproachable. In the next place, the family of *Medici* is the nursery of eminent men. From this stock sprung (not to speak of others) your excellent father, Lorenzo; a man endowed with such prudence, as whilst he lived to have preserved the tranquillity not only of his own country, but of all Italy. That his life had still been prolonged is my earnest wish; for, in that case, the war which broke out in Italy soon after his death, and which now rages in that country, and in consequence throughout all Europe, would either never have commenced, or if it had commenced, would, as is generally believed, have been speedily extinguished by him, by means of that authority and prudence which he so successfully exerted on many other occasions. O most deplorable event! O loss ever to be regretted and lamented! One consolation, however, remains to us; that, as these dreadful commotions began soon after the death of your father, so by the elevation of you, his son, to the dignity of supreme pontiff, they will, by your labours and your care, be extinguished. In the third place, when I advert to your time of life, and consider that, in your elevation to the pontificate, when you had not attained your thirty-eighth year, you were preferred to so many respectable fathers and venerable prelates, it seems to me to manifest the divine interposition. For as there was much to be done in correcting the affairs of the Christian church, and reforming the morals of those who reside in every part of the world, the task required a long life; and God has therefore chosen you, a young man of unimpeachable conduct and morals, to fulfil by long services this important task, without being disheartened by labour or discouraged by difficulties.

> 'Brief are the hours of rest the man must share
> On whom a nation casts its weight of care.'"—*Il.* b. 28.

Aldo then adverts to the extension of the Christian territory by the discoveries of Emanuel, king of Portugal, in the east; after which, returning to his immediate subject,

he thus proceeds: "Nor does less honour await you, holy father, from the restoration of literature and the supplying learned men of the present and future ages with valuable books for the promotion of liberal arts and discipline. This has in former times been attempted by many, not only among the Greeks and Latins, but in other nations; and the good effects of their labours have secured immortality to their names. It has also been done in later days, both by those in private stations and by supreme pontiffs and illustrious sovereigns. Not to refer to others, how greatly was literature promoted by the labour of Nicholas V.! How greatly, too, by your father, Lorenzo! By whose assiduity, had they enjoyed a longer life, many works would certainly have been preserved which are now lost, and those which we possess would have been rendered much more correct. It remains, therefore, for you, the great successor of the one, and the worthy son of the other, to complete that which they were, by a premature death, prevented from accomplishing." This excellent and indefatigable artist then refers to his own labours. "This stone," says he, "I have long endeavoured to roll; in which attempt I seem to myself another Sisyphus; not having yet been able to reach the top of the hill. Some learned men consider me, indeed, rather as a Hercules; because, unmindful of difficulties and dangers, I have rendered greater services to the cause of letters than any other person for many ages past. This has so far entitled me to their esteem, that, both in person and by letter, they almost weary me with their commendations; *sed non ego credulus illis;* nor in truth have I ever yet published a book which has pleased myself. Such is the regard which I bear to literature, that I wish to render those books which are intended for the use of the learned, not only as correct but as beautiful as possible. On this account, if there be an error, although ever so trivial, occasioned by my own oversight, or by that of those who assist me in the task of correction, although *opere in magno fas est obrepere somnum*, for these works are not the labour of a day but of many years, without rest or intermission, yet so greatly do I regret these errors, that I would gladly expunge each of them at the expense of a piece of gold."

Leo was neither unacquainted with the merits of Aldo, nor

insensible to his commendations; the former of which he acknowledged, and the latter of which he repaid, by a papal bull, bearing date the twenty-eighth day of November, 1513. He there notices the strenuous exertions and great expenses of Aldo, during many years, in the cause of literature; particularly in the printing Greek and Latin books with metal types, which, he observes, are so elegantly executed as to appear to be written with a pen. He then grants to him an exclusive privilege for fifteen years, of reprinting and publishing all Greek and Latin books which he had already printed, or might afterwards print, in types discovered by himself, as well as for the use of the *cursive*, or Italic type, of which he was the inventor. These concessions he secures to him by denouncing not only heavy pecuniary penalties, but also the sentence of excommunication against all such as should encroach upon his privileges; recommending to him, however, to sell his books at a reasonable price, of which he declares that he has the fullest confidence from the integrity and obedience of the printer.[242]

The restoration of the Roman Academy, and the institution of the Greek seminary in Rome, speedily led the way to the establishment of a press for printing Greek books in that city; the superintendence of which was also intrusted to Lascar, who himself corrected the works which issued from it. His abilities in this province had already been sufficiently evinced by his edition of the Greek "Anthologia," printed in capital letters at Florence, in the year 1494, and inscribed by him to Piero de' Medici; and by that of Callimachus, printed in capitals at the same place, and most probably about the same period. It has also been conjectured, that for several other works which about the same time issued from the press of Lorenzo Francesco de Alopa, the world is indebted to the industry of the same distinguished scholar.[243] As the Roman press was more particularly intended to promote the objects of the Greek seminary, and as the works of Homer, which had been splendidly published at Florence in the year 1488, were unaccompanied by any commentary, it was thought expedient to print the ancient Greek Scholia on that first of poets, which was accordingly published in the year 1517; and was followed, in the year 1518, by the Scholia on the tragedies of

Sophocles, which then also for the first time issued from the press. In these works the citations from the text are printed in capitals, in order to distinguish them from the comment, and facilitate the use of the books to the pupils.

The efforts of Leo X. for the promotion of liberal studies were emulated by many persons of rank and opulence; but by no one with greater munificence and success than by a merchant who had for some time resided at Rome, and who deserves more particular commemoration in the annals both of literature and of art, than he has hitherto obtained. Agostino *Chisi*, *Chigi*, or *Ghisi*, as he is variously named, was a native of Siena, who having frequent occasion, in his mercantile concerns, to resort to Rome, at length fixed his abode there, and erected for himself a splendid mansion in the *Transtevere*, which he decorated with works in painting and sculpture by the greatest artists of the time.* He had long been considered as the wealthiest merchant in Italy, and on the expedition of Charles VIII. against the kingdom of Naples, had advanced for the use of that monarch a considerable sum of money, which, however, there is reason to believe he had not the good fortune to recover. That he carried on an extensive intercourse with foreign parts, may be conjectured from the applications made on his behalf to the French court, for the liberation of certain ships belonging to him, which had been captured during the contests between Louis XII. and Julius II., and detained in the ports of France. On the rejoicings which had taken place on the procession of Leo X. to the Lateran, Agostino exceeded, in the magnificence and taste of the devices exhibited in honour of the pontiff, every other individual in Rome. A great part of his wealth was supposed to have arisen from his having rented, under Julius II., the mines of salt and of alum belonging to the Roman see. On the elevation of Leo X. the profits of the latter had been granted to Lorenzo, the nephew of the pontiff; but, after a long negotiation between him and Agostino, in which the latter appears to have conducted himself with great pro-

* Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, *passim*. This mansion was afterwards purchased by the family of the Farnese, to whom it yet belongs, and is known by the name of the *Farnesina*.

priety, and even liberality, the contract with him, as sole vender of this article, was renewed. From this period we find him frequently mentioned in the confidential correspondence of the Medici family, as their associate and friend. Of the liberal encouragement which he afforded to the professors of painting, sculpture, and every other branch of art, and of the partiality and attachment with which he was regarded by them, instances will occur to our future notice; but the professors of literature were not without their share of his attention; and whilst Leo X. was employing all his efforts for the restoration of ancient learning, Agostino had devoted himself to the same object in a manner which confers great honour on his memory. Among those learned men whom he had distinguished by his particular favour, was Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo,[241] who united to a sound critical judgment an intimate acquaintance with the Greek tongue, and had before joined with a few other eminent scholars in revising and correcting the geographical work of Ptolemæus, which was published at Rome in the year 1507. Under the patronage of Chigi, Cornelio undertook to superintend an edition of the writings of Pindar, accompanied by the Greek Scholia. The printer whose assistance they had recourse to on this occasion was Zaccaria Calliergo, a native of Crete, who had formerly resided at Venice, and had obtained considerable applause by his edition of the great Etymological Dictionary of the Greek language, which he published there by the assistance of Musurus, in the year 1499. A printing-press was established in the house of Agostino; and at his expense, and by the labour of his learned associates, a fine edition in quarto of the works of Pindar was published in the month of August, 1515, which was allowed to be executed with great accuracy, and as well on account of the beauty of the workmanship as of the Scholia by which it was accompanied, and which were now for the first time printed, is even preferred to the first edition of the same author given by Aldo two years before. By this publication, Agostino anticipated the pontiff in the introduction of the Greek typography, and produced the first book which had been printed in that language at Rome. To the same press we are also indebted for a correct edition of the Idyllia

and Epigrams of Theocritus, which appeared in the year 1516, and which has been resorted to by a learned modern editor, as the most accurate and complete among the early editions of that charming author, and as that on which he chiefly relied, for the correction of those errors which the inattention or inaccuracy of subsequent printers had introduced.[245]

The labours of Lascar, of Musurus, and other native Greeks, in diffusing the study of the Greek language throughout Italy, were rivalled, if not surpassed, by several learned Italians, who had devoted themselves chiefly to this department of literature, and shared with them in the esteem and the favour of the supreme pontiff. Among these, one of the most distinguished was Guarino, a native of Favera, in the state of Camerino, whence he assumed the surname of *Favorino;* and having, in compliance with the custom of the Italian scholars, transformed his name of Guarino into the more classical appellation of *Varino*, he sometimes styled himself *Varinus Favorinus*, or *Phavorinus*, and at others *Varino Camerti*. The period of his birth is placed by a well-informed writer some years after the middle of the fifteenth century.* In acquiring a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages he had the good fortune to obtain the instructions of Politiano, who has left in one of his letters an honourable testimony of the proficiency of his pupil;[246] of the opportunities thus afforded him, he availed himself with such diligence, that very few, even of the Greeks themselves, could equal him in the knowledge of that language. During his residence in Florence, he appears to have been particularly devoted to the service of the Medici family, and is said, although perhaps erroneously, to have given instructions, as preceptor, to Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X.[247] He also formed an intimacy there with Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., which continued uninterrupted until the death of that pontiff. The first publication of Varino was a collection of grammatical tracts in the Greek language, selected with incredible labour from the remains of thirty-four ancient grammarians, whose names are prefixed to the

* Zeno, Giorn. d'Italia, vol. xix. p. 91.

work.[248] In this compilation he was assisted by Carlo Antinori, another disciple of Politiano, and even by Politiano himself, who also honoured him with a recommendatory letter and a Greek epigram to be prefixed to the volume. The publication was undertaken by Aldo Manuzio, in which he was assisted by the celebrated Urbano Valeriano, who will occur to our future notice as another successful promoter of Grecian literature. The first edition of this work made its appearance in the year 1496,[249] and is justly considered as one of the finest productions of the Aldine press. Succeeding grammarians have adverted to this collection in terms of approbation, and the learned Budæus is said to have made considerable use of it in his commentaries on the Greek tongue. It was, however, reserved for the indefatigable Henry Stephens to complete the building of which Varino had laid the foundation; which he did in his "Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ," which is considered as the most complete body of grammatical knowledge extant in any language, but for the title and idea of which he appears to have been indebted to Varino.

Having engaged in an ecclesiastical life, and entered into the order of Benedictines, Varino was, in the year 1508, nominated by Julius II. archdeacon of Nocera, and, in 1512, was intrusted by Leo X., then the cardinal de' Medici, with the superintendence of his private library, an office which he continued to enjoy after the elevation of that pontiff to the supreme dignity. The collection made by the cardinal in Rome had, in the year 1508, been enriched by the addition of the library formed by the assiduity of his ancestors in Florence, which, after the expulsion of his family in 1494, had been sold, as confiscated property, to the convent of S. Marco, for three thousand gold ducats. From the monks of this convent, who either were or pretended to be in want of money to discharge their debts, the cardinal afterwards purchased the same on reasonable terms, and the library was conveyed to Rome, where, however, it was always kept distinct from that of the Vatican, and was considered as the peculiar collection of the Medici family. The high esteem in which Varino was held by this family sufficiently appears in the secret correspondence which was maintained at this

period between Rome and Florence, where he is generally mentioned by the friendly appellation of *Guerino nostro*. In the year 1514, the general of the rich monastery of Vallombrosa, having been accused of misconduct in his office, was committed by order of the pope to the castle of S. Angelo; where, on being threatened with the question, according to the detestable practice of the times, when the cord was applied to draw him up he confessed that he had been guilty of some errors, one of which, it seems, was his having caused the handle of a razor to be adored as a piece of the wood of the cross. The real offence of the general appears, however, to have consisted in his having been an adversary to the Medici family, and in having selected his orisons from the Canticles in such a manner as to pray for their destruction.* His removal from his office was determined upon, and it was proposed that Varino should succeed him in this respectable and lucrative situation; but this not taking effect, the pope, in the month of July following, nominated Varino to the bishopric of Nocera, which diocese he governed with great credit during upwards of twenty-three years.[250] In the same correspondence many instances occur of the respect paid to his opinion on subjects of literature, and concerning the manuscripts of ancient authors. The high estimation in which he was held by the pontiff caused him also to be frequently resorted to by those who wished to obtain the favours of the Roman see; and it was chiefly by his means that Gianmaria Varani, lord of Camerino, was honoured by the pope with the title of the first duke of that territory, by a decree which passed the consistory on the thirtieth day of April, 1515.† The cardinal Innocenzio Cibò was deputed from Rome to place the ducal diadem on the head of Gianmaria, in which embassy he was attended by two bishops, one of whom was Varino, who had the honour of celebrating mass on the occasion, and of investing the duke with the insignia of his new rank, as also with those of prefect of Rome, and count of Sinigaglia.

* MSS. Florent. *Vide* App. No. XI.

† On this occasion, Varani struck a medal in honour of Leo X. with the arms of Camerino on one side, and on the reverse, a laurel wreath, with the motto, "LEONIS X. CULTUI."

The next publication of Varino was a translation into Latin of the apophthegms of various Greek authors, collected by Stobæus, which he dedicated to Leo X., and printed at Rome in the year 1517. Of this work another edition was published at Rome, in 1519, under a very different title;[251] and this was reprinted at Cracow in 1529, with a Latin epigram in praise of the author by a learned native of Poland.

But the great work by which Varino is known to the present times, and which will always secure to him an honourable rank among the promoters of Grecian literature, is his Greek dictionary, which, after the labour of many years, was completed by him in the lifetime of Leo X., who granted him a privilege for its publication; notwithstanding which it did not make its appearance until the pontificate of his successor, Adrian VI., in the year 1523, when it was published at Rome from the press of Zaccaria Calliergo. In this department Varino had indeed been preceded by Giovanni Crastone, a Carmelite monk,[252] but the production of this ecclesiastic is so defective, that Varino is ranked as the first who favoured the learned world with an useful and authentic lexicon. The merit of this performance is fully confirmed by the authority of the celebrated Henry Stephens, in his "Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ;" not indeed in express terms, for he has not even mentioned the labours of his industrious predecessor; but by the more unequivocal circumstance of his having transcribed many parts of the volume published by Varino, and inserted them in his own more extensive work. The dictionary of Varino was on its publication dedicated by him to Giulio, cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. Another edition was printed at Basil in the year 1538;* and notwithstanding the various works of the same nature which have since been published, the authors of which have availed themselves without scruple of the labours of Varino, his dictionary was again reprinted at Venice in the year 1712, by Antonio Bartoli, in a correct and elegant manner, and yet retains its rank among those useful and laborious compilations, of which it set the first laudable example.[253]

Another eminent Italian scholar who at this period dis-

* This edition was superintended by the celebrated Camerarius, and inscribed by him to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg.

tinguished himself by his proficiency in Greek literature, was Scipione Forteguerra of Pistoja, better known by his scholastic appellation of *Carteromachus*, by which he chose to express his family name in his favourite language. His origin was respectable, and his father had several times held the supreme magistracy of his native place. He was born in the year 1467, and received the rudiments of his education at Pistoja, whence he afterwards removed to Rome; but it was in the city of Florence, and under the directions of Politiano, that he acquired that thorough knowledge of the Greek language on which his reputation is founded. On this occasion he was the fellow-student of Varino, and being associated with the Antenori and other young men of rank, was allowed to receive instructions in the family of the Medici. From Florence he transferred his residence to Padua, whence he wrote, in the month of April, 1493, to his preceptor Politiano, with whom, as appears from this letter, he still maintained the most friendly intimacy. About the year 1500, he was invited by the senate of Venice to give instructions in the Greek language in that city. At this period he had acquired such credit by his proficiency in that tongue, that we are assured that the Greeks themselves acknowledged his superiority, even in their native language.* On the elevation of Julius II. Scipione was called to Rome by that pontiff, and by him appointed to attend as preceptor and companion on his nephew, the cardinal Galeotto della Rovere, to whom Scipione soon afterwards inscribed an oration of Aristides, which he translated from the Greek. From the intimacy which subsisted between Galeotto and the cardinal de' Medici, it may be presumed, that Scipione at this period renewed that friendship with the latter which had been formed when they were fellow-students at Florence. During his attendance on Galeotto, he met at Bologna with the celebrated Erasmus, who has described him as a man of deep and consummate erudition, but so remote from all ostentation, that unless called forth by controversy, no one would have suspected him to have been possessed of such accomplishments. The acquaintance which these distinguished scholars then contracted was ripened into

* P. Alycon. de Exsilio ap. Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xx. p. 282.

more particular friendship when they met together at Rome.* On the untimely death of Galeotto in the year 1508, Scipione attached himself to Francesco Alidosio, cardinal of Pavia; after whose assassination at Ravenna by the duke of Urbino, in the year 1511, he returned to Rome, and enjoyed the society of the few men of learning then resident there, and particularly of Angelo Colocci. If we may credit an eminent Italian critic, Scipione was indebted to Colocci for his introduction to the friendship of the cardinal de' Medici; but we have already found sufficient reason to conclude that their acquaintance had commenced at a much earlier period;[254] and it is certain that before the elevation of Leo X. to the pontificate, Scipione was not only ranked among his friends, but resided with him under his roof.[255] After that fortunate event, Leo is said to have appointed Scipione to direct the studies of his cousin Giulio de' Medici, then archbishop elect of Florence, but it is scarcely probable that Leo would have interfered with the studies of his relation, who was then of mature age and fully competent to choose his own associates and instructors. Scipione had, however, reason to flatter himself, that from the liberality of such a pontiff he should receive the just remuneration of his talents and his services; nor is it likely that his expectations would have been defrauded, had not his premature death prevented his obtaining the full reward of his merits. The precise time when this event happened has been a subject of doubt; but from the most authentic account, founded on the records of his family, it appears that he died at Pistoia, about six months after the accession of Leo X., or in the month of October, 1513. In consequence of his untimely fate, Scipione is indebted for his literary reputation rather to the numerous commendations of his contemporaries and friends than to his own writings, many of which are said to have been dispersed at his death, and usurped by others into whose hands they had fallen. Among those which remain, is his oration in praise of Grecian literature, recited by him before a full and noble audience at Venice, in 1504, and published from the press of Aldo in the same year;† besides

* Erasm. Ep. lib. xxiii. ep. 5.

† Reprinted by Frobenius, at Basil, in 1517, and also prefixed by the learned Henry Stephens to his "Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ."

which several epigrams in Greek and Latin, and a few Italian compositions, are extant in the publications of the times.* "It might be truly observed of him," says Valeriano, "that there was nothing written before his time which he had not read; nothing that he had read which he did not convert to the utility of others." During his residence at Venice he frequently assisted in correcting the editions of the ancient authors published by Aldo, who has mentioned him in several of his publications in terms of high commendation and esteem. He also united with Cornelio Benigno of Viterbo, and other learned men, in correcting the edition of the geographical works of Ptolemæus, printed at Rome in 1507, which has before been noticed.

Fra Urbano Valeriano Bolzanio, of Belluno, has already been mentioned as one of the coadjutors of Varino and Aldo in the publication of the "Thesaurus Cornucopiæ;" but the services which he rendered to Grecian literature by his subsequent labours entitle him to more particular notice. He was born in the year 1440, and is said by his nephew, Piero Valeriano, to have been the earliest instructor of Leo X. in the knowledge of the Greek tongue. Although an ecclesiastic of the order of S. Francesco, he quitted the walls of his monastery with the laudable curiosity of visiting foreign parts; and having had an opportunity of accompanying Andrea Gritti, afterwards doge of Venice, on an embassy to Constantinople, he thence made an excursion through Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and other countries; always travelling on foot, and diligently noting whatever appeared deserving of observation.† The disinterestedness of Urbano is strongly insisted on by his nephew Piero, who informs us that he rather chose to suffer the inconveniences of poverty than to receive a reward for those instructions which he was at all times ready to give, and that he always persevered in refusing those honours and dignities which Leo X. would gladly have conferred upon him. His activity, temperance, and placid disposition, secured to him a healthful old age, nor did he omit to make frequent excursions through Italy, until he was disqualified from these occupations by a fall in his garden,

* Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xx. p. 294, &c.
† Valerian. de Literat. infelic. lib. ii. p. 166.

whilst he was pruning his trees.* His principal residence was at Venice, where he not only assisted Aldo Manuzio in correcting the editions which he published of the ancient authors, but gave instructions in the Greek language to a great number of scholars; insomuch, that there was scarcely a person in Italy distinguished by his proficiency in that language who had not at some time been his pupil.[256] His earnest desire of facilitating the knowledge of this language induced him to undertake the composition of his grammar, which was the first attempt to explain in Latin the rules of the Greek tongue. This work was first printed in 1497,† and was received with such avidity, that Erasmus, on inquiring for it in the year 1499, found that not a copy of the impression remained unsold.[257]

The exertions of Leo X. were not, however, exclusively confined to the promotion of any one particular branch of literature. Soon after his elevation, he caused it to be publicly known that he would give ample rewards to those who should procure for him manuscript copies of the works of any of the ancient Greek or Roman authors, and would at his own expense print and publish them with as much accuracy as possible. In consequence of this, the first five books of the Annals of Tacitus, which Lipsius afterwards divided into six, and which had until that time existed only in manuscript, were brought from the Abbey of Corvey, in Westphalia, by Angelo Arcomboldo, who was remunerated by the pope with the liberal reward of 500 zechins.‡ Such of the writings of that eminent historian as had before been discovered, and which consisted of the last six books of his Annals and the first five books of his History, had been printed by Johannes de Spira at Venice, about the year 1468, and several times reprinted at Rome and Venice. On obtaining this valuable copy, which, besides comprehending the additional books, supplied considerable defects in those before published, Leo determined to give to the world as complete an edition as possible; for which purpose he intrusted the manuscript to the

* Valerian. de Literat. infel. lib. ii. p. 168.

† Urbani, Grammatica Græca. Ven. ap. Aldum, mense Januario, anno 1497, 4to.

‡ Brotier, Tacit. in præf. p. 18. Op. ed. Par. 1771.

younger Filippo Beroaldo, with directions to correct the text, and to superintend the printing of it in an elegant and useful form. In order to reward the editor for his trouble on this occasion, Leo proposed to grant to him an exclusive privilege for the reprinting and sale of the work; and as the brief in which this privilege is conceded contains a kind of justification on the part of the pontiff for devoting so much of his attention to the promotion of profane learning, an extract from its preamble may not be inapplicable to our present subject.

"Amongst the other objects of our attention since we have been raised by divine goodness to the pontifical dignity, and devoted to the government, and, as far as in us lies, to the extension of the Christian church, we have considered those pursuits as not the least important which lead to the promotion of literature and useful arts; for we have been accustomed even from our early years to think, that nothing more excellent or more useful has been given by the Creator to mankind, if we except only the knowledge and true worship of himself, than these studies, which not only lead to the ornament and guidance of human life, but are applicable and useful to every particular situation; in adversity consolatory, in prosperity pleasing and honourable; insomuch, that without them we should be deprived of all the grace of life and all the polish of society. The security and extension of these studies seem chiefly to depend on two circumstances, the number of men of learning, and the ample supply of excellent authors. As to the first of these, we hope, with the divine blessing, to shew still more evidently our earnest desire and disposition to reward and to honour their merits; this having been for a long time past our chief delight and pleasure. With respect to the acquisition of books, we return thanks to God, that in this also an opportunity is now afforded us of promoting the advantage of mankind."

The pontiff then adverts to his having obtained at great expense the five books of Tacitus, which he confides to the care of Beroaldo for publication, with high commendation on his talents, industry, and integrity; and in order to secure to him the reward of his labours, he denounces the sentence of

excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, with the penalty of two hundred ducats, and forfeiture of the books, against any persons who should reprint these works within ten years, without the express consent of the editor.*

But notwithstanding the censures of the Christian church were thus employed by the pontiff for protecting the writings of a heathen author, neither these, nor the temporal penalties by which they were accompanied, could prevent another edition from being printed at Milan in the same year by Alessandro Minuziano, who had established himself there as a printer, and contended with Aldo Manuzio in the publication of the writings of antiquity. So vigilant was Minuziano in this respect, that he obtained the sheets of the Roman edition as they came progressively from the press; and it is probable that his own edition was nearly completed before he was aware of the heavy denunciations against those who should presume to pirate the work. By this measure the incautious printer not only incurred the penalties in the papal brief, but excited the indignation of the pope, who found his monitory treated with contempt in the very place which he had lately freed from the yoke of the French, and who ordered Minuziano immediately to appear at Rome. The interposition of some powerful friends, and not improbably that of Maximiliano Sforza, was, however, exerted in his behalf; and such representations were made to the pope as induced him to relax from his severity, and release the offender from his excommunication; which was followed by a kind of compromise between him and Beroaldo, by which the Milanese printer was allowed to dispose of the remaining copies of his work.[258]

The restoration of the Greek and Roman languages was accompanied, or speedily followed, by the study of the oriental tongues, which although so necessary to the perfect knowledge of the sacred writings, now first began to engage the more particular attention of the learned.[259] To the successful prosecution of these inquiries the favour of the great was yet more necessary than to the other branches of learning; and the assistance afforded by Leo X. to those who engaged in

* Published, Romæ, M.D.XV.

them may serve to shew that his munificence was not confined, as has generally been supposed, to the lighter and more ornamental branches of literature. Among those who had made an early proficiency in the knowledge of the eastern tongues was Teseo Ambrogio of Pavia, regular canon of the Lateran,* who arrived at Rome in the year 1512, at the opening of the fifth session of the Lateran council. The great number of ecclesiastics from Syria, Ethiopia, and other parts of the east, who attended that council, afforded him an opportunity of prosecuting his studies with advantage; and at the request of the cardinal Santa Croce, he was employed as the person best qualified to translate from the Chaldean into Latin the liturgy of the eastern clergy, previously to the use of it being expressly sanctioned by the pope. After having been employed by Leo X. for two years in giving instructions in Latin to the subdeacon Elias, a legate from Syria to the council, whom the pope wished to retain in his court, and from whom Ambrogio received in return instructions in the Syrian tongue, he was appointed by the pontiff to the chair of a professor in the university of Bologna, where he delivered instructions in the Syriac and Chaldaic languages for the first time that they had been publicly taught in Italy. Ambrogio is said to have understood no less than eighteen different languages, many of which he spoke with the ease and fluency of a native. In the commotions which devastated Italy after the death of Leo X. he was despoiled of the numerous and valuable eastern manuscripts which he had collected by the industry of many years, as also of the types and apparatus which he had prepared for an edition of the Psalter in the Chaldean, which he intended to have accompanied with a dissertation on that language. This, however, did not deter him from the prosecution of his studies, and in the year 1539, he published at Pavia his "Introduction to the Chaldean, Syrian, Armenian, and ten other tongues, with the alphabetical characters of about forty different languages;" which is considered by the Italians themselves as the earliest attempt

* He was of the noble family of the Conti d'Albonese, and born in 1469. At fifteen years of age, he is said to have written and spoken Greek and Latin with a facility equal to any person of the time.—Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Ital. vol. ii. p. 609.

made in Italy towards a systematic acquaintance with the literature of the east.

The labours of Ambrogio were emulated by several other learned Italians, and particularly by Agostino Giustiniani, who with more success than Ambrogio undertook an edition of the Psalter in four languages, which he published at Genoa in 1516.[260] It is observable that Tiraboschi considers this work as the first specimen of a polyglot Bible which had been seen in Europe;* but this praise is justly due to the great Complutensian polyglot of cardinal Ximenes, of which the earliest part bears the date of 1514, and which work is inscribed to Leo X. On being informed that Sante Pagnini, a learned ecclesiastic then in Rome, had undertaken to translate the Bible from the original Hebrew, Leo sent to him and requested to be allowed the inspection of his work. The satisfaction which he derived from it was such that he immediately ordered that the whole should be transcribed at his own expense, and gave directions that materials should be provided for printing it. A part of it was accordingly executed, but the death of the pontiff retarded its completion, and the labours of Pagnini were not published until the pontificate of Clement VII. The Hebrew tongue was also publicly taught at Rome, by Agacio Guidacerio, a native of Calabria, who published a grammar of that language, which he dedicated to Leo X., and of which he gave a more complete edition at Paris in 1539. Francesco de' Rosi, of Ravenna, having, during his travels into Syria, discovered an Arabic manuscript, under the title of "The Mystic Philosophy of Aristotle," caused it to be translated into Latin, and presented it to the pope, who, in his letter of acknowledgments, expresses his earnest desire of promoting similar researches, and his approbation of the labours of Francesco, to whom he also grants a privilege for the publication of the work, which was accordingly printed at Rome in the year 1519. These brief notices of the rise of oriental learning in Europe may sufficiently demonstrate the interest which Leo X. took in promoting those studies, and the success which attended his efforts.

* Tirab. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 403.

CHAPTER XII.

1514.

Public thanksgivings at Rome for the success of the Christian arms—Splendid embassy from the king of Portugal to Leo X.—Papal grant of newly-discovered countries to the king of Portugal—Louis XII. endeavours to engage in his interest the Helvetic states—Proposed alliance between the Royal Houses of France, Spain, and Austria—Efforts of Leo X. to prevent such alliance—Leo endeavours to reconcile the French and English sovereigns—Treaty of alliance between England and France—Wolsey appointed archbishop of York—Marriage of Louis XII. with the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII.—Singular interview between Erasmus and the papal legate Canossa—Magnificent exhibitions at Florence—Triumph of Camillus—Tournaments—Deliberations at Rome for aggrandizing the family of the Medici—Leo X. forms designs upon the kingdom of Naples and the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino—Enters into a secret alliance with Louis XII.—His motives explained—Leo obtains the city of Modena—Endeavours to reconcile the Venetians to the king of Spain, and the Emperor elect—Legation of Bembo to Venice—The senate refuses to comply with his proposals—Historical mistakes respecting this negotiation—Death of Louis XII.—His character—His widow marries Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

THE reconciliation which had been so happily effected between Louis XII. and the Roman see was extremely agreeable to the pope; not only as it afforded a subject of triumph to the church, in having reduced to due obedience so refractory and powerful a monarch, but as having also extinguished the last remains of that schism which had originated in the council of Pisa, and had at one time threatened to involve in contention the whole Christian world.

This satisfaction was soon afterwards increased by the intelligence of the important victories which the kings of Hungary and of Poland had obtained over the common enemies of the Christian faith, and of the discoveries of Emanuel, king of Portugal, in the east, under the conduct

of the celebrated Vasco del Gama.* Such a concurrence of great and prosperous events induced the pope to direct the celebration of a public thanksgiving in Rome, which was accordingly observed with extraordinary pomp, and splendid processions to the churches of S. Maria del Popolo and S. Agostino; in which the pontiff appeared in person, and, by the propriety and decorum which always distinguished him on public occasions, gave additional dignity to the ceremony. At the same time he ordered Camillo Portio to pronounce, in the pontifical chapel, a Latin oration in praise of the character and actions of the king of Portugal, who had communicated to him his success, and testified his dutiful obedience to the Roman court, and his personal attachment to the supreme pontiff.

This mutual interchange of civility and respect between the king of Portugal and the pontiff was, however, rendered much more conspicuous by a splended embassy from the Portuguese monarch, which soon afterwards arrived at Rome, to the great delight and astonishment of the inhabitants. The chief ambassador on this occasion was the celebrated Tristano Cugna, who had himself held a principal command in the expedition to the east, and had acquired great honour by his conduct and courage in its prosecution. He was accompanied by Jacopo Paceco and Giovanni Faria, professors of the law, of great eminence and authority. Three sons of Cugna, with many others of his relatives and friends, accompanied the procession, which was met at the gates of the city by a select body of cardinals and prelates, who conducted the strangers to the palaces appointed for their residence. But the respectability of the envoys was of less importance in the eyes of the populace than the singular and magnificent presents for the pope by which they were accompanied. Among these were an elephant of extraordinary size, two leopards, a panther, and other uncommon animals. Several Persian horses, richly caparisoned, appeared also in the train, mounted by natives of the same country dressed in their proper habits. To these was added a profusion of articles of inestimable value; pontifical vest-

* This event supplied the celebrated Portuguese poet, Luis de Camoens, with the subject of his "Lusiad."

ments adorned with gold and jewels, vases and other implements for the celebration of sacred rites, and a covering for the altar, of most exquisite workmanship. A herald bearing the arms of the Portuguese sovereign led the procession. On their arrival at the pontifical palace, where the pope stood at the windows to see them pass, the elephant stopped, and, kneeling before his holiness, bowed himself thrice, to the ground. A large vessel was here provided and filled with water, which the elephant drew up into his trunk and showered down again on the adjacent multitude, dispersing no small portion of it among the more polite spectators at the windows, to the great entertainment of the pontiff. Six days afterwards the ambassadors were admitted to a public audience, on which occasion the procession was repeated. The pope, surrounded by the cardinals and prelates of the church, and attended by the ambassadors of foreign states and all the officers of his court, was addressed in a Latin oration of Paceco, at the conclusion of which Leo replied to him in the same language, highly commending the king for his devotion to the holy see. Of this opportunity the pontiff also availed himself, to recommend the maintenance of peace among the states of Europe, and the union of their arms against the Turks; expressing himself with such promptitude, seriousness, and elegance, as to obtain the unanimous admiration of the auditors. On the following day, the presents from the king were brought into the conservatory of the gardens, adjoining the pontifical palace, where, on the introduction of animals proper for that purpose, the wild beasts displayed their agility in taking, and their ferocity in devouring, their prey; a spectacle which humanity would have spared, but which was probably highly gratifying to the pontiff, who was devoted to the pleasures of the chase. The Portuguese monarch had intended to have surprised the Roman people with the sight of another and yet rarer animal, which had not been seen in Rome for many ages; but the rhinoceros, which he had brought from the east with this view, unfortunately perished in the attempt to get him on board the vessel prepared to transport him to Italy.

In return for these public testimonies of consideration and respect on the part of the king of Portugal, Leo addressed to

that monarch a public letter of acknowledgment,* and soon afterwards transmitted to him a consecrated rose. His holiness had, in truth, for some time hesitated whether he should present this precious gift to the king or to the emperor elect, Maximilian; but the attention which he had experienced from the former seems to have effected this important decision. He also granted to Emanuel the tenths and thirds of the clergy in his dominions, as long as he should carry on the war in Africa,† together with the right of presentation and ecclesiastical preferment in all countries discovered by him beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and these concessions were soon afterwards followed by a more ample donation of all kingdoms, countries, provinces, and islands, which he might recover from the infidels, not only from capes *Bojador* and *Naon* to the Indies, *but in parts yet undiscovered and unknown even to the pontiff himself.*[261] About the same time the pope beatified the memory of Elizabeth, queen of Portugal, who had signalized herself by the sanctity of her life,[262] and enrolled in the list of martyrs the seven Minorites, who are said to have been the last family in Africa who suffered martyrdom for their adherence to the Christain faith.

Although Leo was highly gratified by the event of his negotiations with Louis XII., the success of which might justly be attributed to his own firmness and moderation, yet he could not but perceive that this alliance with that monarch gave rise to considerable embarrassment, as to the course of political conduct which it would in future be necessary for him to adopt. With his hostility to the church, Louis had by no means relinquished his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, for the recovery of which he had already begun to make formidable preparations. As he had been frustrated in his former attempts by the opposition and promptitude of Leo X. and by the courage of the Swiss, he determined, after having secured the favour of the one, to obtain, if possible, the assistance, or at least the neutrality, of the other. In this attempt he met, however, with greater obstacles than he expected. During the late contests, the Swiss had imbibed

* This letter, which bears date 21 March, 1514, is given in Sad. Epist. Pont. ep. 20.

† Dumont, Corps Diplomat. tom. ii. par. i. p. 26.

a spirit of resentment against the French monarch, which had at length been inflamed to a high degree of national antipathy. The treaty of Dijon, by which Louis stood engaged to pay to them the enormous sum of six hundred thousand crowns, as the price of their evacuating his dominions, had not yet been fulfilled; and the preparations making by the king for another invasion of Milan were a sufficient demonstration that he did not consider himself as bound by a treaty of which the chief article was his relinquishment of all pretensions to that duchy. It was to no purpose that he endeavoured to justify himself to the Helvetic states for this open breach of a compact by which his own dominions had been released from the most imminent danger. Those hardy and independent republicans had even the magnanimity to refuse a much larger sum than that for which they had before stipulated, and which was offered them on the condition of their releasing the king from his engagements and favouring his enterprise against the states of Milan.*

Unable either to secure the favour, or to mitigate the resentment of the Swiss, who threatened not only to take upon themselves the defence of the Milanese, in case of a future attack, but also to make a second irruption into France, Louis had recourse to another expedient. The affinity that already subsisted between him and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had married his niece Germaine de Foix, afforded him an opportunity of proposing an alliance by marriage between his youngest daughter Renée, then only four years of age, and the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor by the name of Charles V., who stood in an equal degree of relationship, as grandson, both to Ferdinand and the emperor elect, Maximilian. By this union Louis expected to secure the co-operation of both these powerful monarchs in his designs upon Italy; and as the Venetians still remained firmly attached to his interests, for the support of which they had indeed made great sacrifices, he had no doubt that he should now be able to accomplish his purposes. The preliminaries for the marriage were accordingly agreed upon,[268] and as this important union could not, from the youth of both parties, be

* Louis had offered to pay down 400,000 ducats, and 800,000 more by instalments at future periods.—Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 68.

carried into immediate effect, the truce which had been already established for one year between Louis and Ferdinand, was soon afterwards again renewed, with a reservation for the emperor elect and the king of England to accede to it if they should think proper.

These proceedings were a cause of great alarm to Leo X., who perceived, that by this union of the courts of Aragon, Vienna, and France, the duchy of Milan and its dependent states would fall an easy prey to the invaders.[264] Nor were the fears of Leo confined to this district. He well knew that the opposite interests of these great continental powers had hitherto preserved from a foreign yoke those provinces of Italy which yet remained under the dominion of their native princes; and he justly dreaded that this coalition would only be the harbinger of a general partition of that country, to almost every part of which one or another of these potentates had already advanced pretensions. In this emergency, all his talents and exertions were employed to prevent the proposed union from taking effect. He was well aware that Louis had been chiefly impelled to this measure by his misunderstanding with the Swiss; on which account he earnestly laboured to reconcile the differences which had arisen between them. Nor was the French king unwilling to listen to his representations, in the hope that he might yet obtain the assistance of those warlike mercenaries; in which case he would gladly have relinquished his treaty for the alliance with Spain and the emperor, which he already began to suspect could only terminate in the aggrandizement of the united house of Aragon and of Austria, and in the humiliation of that of France. Under these impressions he proposed to unite his interests with those of the pope and the Helvetic states, provided they would not oppose his pretensions to the state of Milan; at the same time offering to the pope a compensation in some other part of Italy for any injury which he might sustain. Whatever might have been the determination of Leo, who appears to have balanced in his mind the probable consequences of the alliance between France and Aragon, with the certainty of the loss of Milan, he had not

* Dumont, Corps Diplomat. vol. iv. par. i. p. 179.

an opportunity of making his election; the Swiss having positively refused to relax in their pretensions, or to enter into any alliance with the king, unless the treaty of Dijon was carried into full effect. In order to mitigate their resentment, Leo despatched to the Helvetic diet, as his legate, the cardinal of Sion; but although that prelate had great influence on the minds of his countrymen, he could not on this occasion prevail on them to depart from their resolution. On the other hand, Louis XII. displayed equal pertinacity in maintaining his pretensions to the state of Milan, the relinquishment of which he considered as not only derogatory to his just rights, but as a stain on the honour and dignity of his crown.*

But although Leo was thus disappointed in his expectations, he did not relax in his endeavours to defeat the dreaded alliance, which he considered as pregnant with danger to the independence and repose of Italy. The cautious and procrastinating temper of Ferdinand of Spain, and the folly and indecision of Maximilian, had hitherto prevented this projected union, which might have subjugated all Europe to the dominion of a single sovereign. In this emergency a dawn of hope appeared in another quarter, of which the pope did not fail most eagerly to avail himself. Henry VIII. of England, who had acted so important and so honourable a part in the league against France, had learnt with extreme indignation that his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Aragon, had, without his concurrence, renewed his treaties with Louis XII., and had thereby, as he asserted, a third time deceived and imposed upon him; on which account he avowed his determination not to interfere further in the contest.† This change in the disposition and views of Henry was communicated by him to the pope, who was no sooner apprized of it, than he determined to encourage the resentment of Henry against his father-in-law, and to promote, as far as in his power, an alliance between the French and English sovereigns; well judging, that if he should be fortunate enough to accomplish this object, it would frustrate the treaty yet depending for the marriage of the archduke Charles with the daughter of

* Guicciard. Storia d'Ital. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 67.

† Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 72.

Louis XII. Nor was Louis less inclined to listen to terms of accommodation than Leo was to propose them; being fully persuaded, that whilst he had so formidable an enemy as the king of England, who had lately carried the war into the heart of *his* dominions, he could not without extreme imprudence undertake his favourite expedition into Italy. Of this Leo was also sufficiently apprized; nor was he desirous of facilitating the views of the French monarch; but of the two evils with which that country was now threatened, an attack upon Milan by the unassisted arms of the French appeared to him to be the least, as he still hoped to provide for its defence by the aid of the Swiss, with whom, in case an alliance took place between France and England, the emperor elect and the king of Aragon would probably join; whilst, on the other hand, the union of the powerful houses of France, Spain, and Austria, left not the slightest hope of successful resistance.

The high consideration in which Leo was now held both by the French and English monarchs afforded him the fairest prospect of success. To the former he had lately been solemnly reconciled, and had received him as a repentant son into the bosom of the church. In the dissensions between Louis and the Swiss, he had acted the part of a mediator; and although his interference had been unsuccessful, and he had, in fact, other purposes in view than the promoting the ambitious views of the king, yet it gave him fair pretensions to his confidence, and added weight to his opinions. Louis had lately been deprived of his queen, Ann of Bretagne, with whom he had lived in great harmony, and who died in the beginning of the year 1514, leaving behind her the reputation of a princess of extraordinary virtue, talents, and piety; an event which, as it afterwards appeared, was of no inconsiderable importance in facilitating and cementing the proposed reconciliation between the contending powers. With Henry VIII. the pope was upon terms of still closer amity. In the war with France, Henry had on all occasions avowed himself the champion of the holy see, and expressed his determination to frustrate the efforts of all schismatics. In return for his attachment and his services Leo had presented to him a consecrated sword and hat; a distinction conferred only on those

princes who have obtained in person a signal victory in defence of the church.[265] But, what was of more importance, Wolsey, already bishop of Lincoln and of Tournay, was daily rising in the favour of his master, and was eagerly grasping at those higher preferments which Leo alone had it in his power to bestow. Under these flattering auspices Leo communicated his project to Bambridge, cardinal archbishop of York, who then resided at Rome as ambassador of the English monarch, requesting him to represent to his sovereign, that after the glory which he had obtained in his contest with France, and the unexampled breach of faith which he had experienced from his allies, he might now with justice and honour consult his own interest, in effecting such a league with Louis XII. as might not only indemnify him for the expenses which he had sustained, but secure to him the result of his victories.[266] To this advice Henry listened with approbation; and in a conversation with the duke de Longueville, whom he had taken prisoner at the battle of Guingaste, and who seems to have obtained no small share of his confidence, he gave such indications of his pacific intentions, as induced the duke to acquaint his sovereign with this fortunate change in the disposition and views of the English monarch. No sooner was Louis apprized of this event, than he despatched Jean de Selva, president of the parliament of Normandy, as his envoy to the English court, upon whose arrival a truce was agreed on between the two monarchs, to continue as long as the ambassador should remain in England.[267] For the purpose of promoting this negotiation, the pope also sent to Paris Lodovico Canossa, bishop of Tricarica, a man of noble birth, and of great ability and address, who, after having prepared the way for pacific measures, proceeded thence to England. These deliberations were not of long continuance. Louis XII. had fully authorized his envoy to conclude the proposed treaty; and in order to shew that his intentions were sincere, he directed the duke de Longueville to request in marriage for the French monarch the princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII., then only eighteen years of age. In the commencement of this negotiation, to which Wolsey was the only person admitted on behalf of the king of England, the demands of Henry were extravagant; but the representations of the

duke de Longueville and the policy of Wolsey, who well knew that by promoting this alliance he should recommend himself to the favour of the Roman court, soon induced him to relax in his demands. The pride of Henry was also gratified by the proposed union between his sister and Louis XII., who, to use his own words, "had sought so gentely unto him for both amytie and marriage."* Some objections, however, arose respecting Tournay, of which Wolsey was yet bishop, to the restitution of which Henry positively refused to assent; and Canossa, the pope's legate, again hastened to France, to prevail upon Louis XII. to consent to its being retained by the English monarch. His efforts were successful; and the convenient recommendation of the French king's counsellors was procured, to shield their sovereign from the disgrace of having, by his own free will, assented to the dismemberment of his kingdom.† On the second day of August, 1514, the treaty was signed at London, by which the two sovereigns, after declaring that they have been chiefly induced to concur in this arrangement by the exhortations and mediation of the pope, bind themselves to afford each other mutual assistance in the prosecution of their rights, and the defence of their respective dominions.[268] The claims of Louis XII. to the states of Milan and Genoa are explicitly asserted, and virtually admitted. The treaty is to continue during the joint lives of the contracting parties, and for one year afterwards, and they mutually promise to endeavour within twelve months to obtain from the pope a sentence of excommunication against him who should first infringe the terms.[269]

This treaty was immediately followed by two others between the same parties; the one for the marriage of the princess Mary with Louis XII., the other for the payment of a million of crowns by Louis to Henry, "as well for the arrears of certain sums already due, as on account of the good affection he bore him, and to the end that their amity might be the more lasting." By the treaty of marriage Henry agreed to convey his sister at his own expense to the city of Abbeville, where within four days after her arrival the king of France was solemnly to marry her. He also promised to give as her

* Rapin, book xv. † Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 73.

portion four hundred thousand crowns, one-half of which should be reckoned for her jewels and preparations, and the other half deducted from the million of crowns agreed to be paid by Louis XII., who on his part undertook to make the jointure of his bride equal to that of Ann of Bretagne, or any other queen of France.*

These important negotiations were scarcely concluded, when messengers arrived at Paris from the emperor elect and the Spanish monarch, with full powers to ratify the proposed alliance, by the marriage of the archduke with the princess Renée, on such preliminary terms as the French monarch might approve;† but Louis had now less occasion for their support, and hesitated not to reject their overtures, and the princess afterwards became the wife of Ercole II., duke of Ferrara. It has been supposed by the English historians, that in his transactions with Louis XII. Henry suffered himself to be misled by his great favourite, and imposed upon by that monarch, who eventually prevailed upon him to rest satisfied with his bond for the million of crowns, which was the price at which Henry had estimated his friendship. But whatever were the private objects or private disappointments of the parties, it must be confessed, that as a great public measure of precaution for the safety of Europe, it was one of the most important alliances that ever was formed; as it served not only to terminate the bloody contests between England and France, but prevented the coalition of the French monarch with the united houses of Spain and of Austria, and was well calculated to raise up a formidable barrier to that preponderating power which was shortly afterwards concentrated in the person of the emperor Charles V.

The active part which Wolsey had taken in effecting this reconciliation recommended him still further to the favour of his sovereign, to whom an opportunity soon occurred of testifying his approbation. Whilst the treaty was yet depending, the cardinal archbishop of York, Christopher Bambridge, suddenly died, having been poisoned by Rinaldo da Modena,[270] who is said to have confessed, on being put to the rack, that he was induced to commit the crime in revenge for a blow given him

* Dumont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 188, &c.
† Guiccard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 74.

by his master.[271] With this event the cardinal Giulio de' Medici immediately acquainted the king of England, at the same time informing him that the pope had resolved not to dispose of the livings held by the archbishop until the king's pleasure should be known.* Henry immediately requested that the archbishopric of York might be conferred on his favourite Wolsey, with which the pope without hesitation complied, and thereby repaid the obligations which he owed to Wolsey, for the active part which he had taken in the negotiation, under the appearance and with the credit of complying with the wishes of the king.†

The preparations for the marriage of the princess Mary occupied nearly two months, during which Louis XII. frequently addressed himself by letter to Wolsey, entreating him, with all the impatience of a youthful lover, to expedite the departure of his intended bride, and assuring him that his most earnest desire was to see her in France, and find himself along with her.[272] On the second day of October, 1514, she embarked at Dover; to which place she had been accompanied by the king and queen, who then consigned her to the duke of Norfolk, to be conducted to Abbeville. A numerous train of the chief nobility also attended her to that city, where the marriage was celebrated with great splendour on the ninth day of the same month. After the ceremony her whole retinue was dismissed, except a few confidential attendants, among whom was Ann Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn.[273] The coronation took place shortly afterwards at Paris, on which occasion magnificent spectacles were exhibited, with jousts and tournaments, in which the duke of Suffolk and the marquis of Dorset came off with honour. The king and queen of France were spectators; but Louis, although not at an advanced age, was so infirm that he was obliged to recline upon a couch.

The important part which England had lately taken in the affairs of the continent, and the negotiations for the marriage of Louis XII. had opened a more direct intercourse between this and other countries than had before

* *Vide* Rymer, vi. par. 1, p. 61.

† Soon afterwards the king sent the Cardinal de' Medici a present of two horses with splendid trappings.—Rymer, iv. par. 1, p. 86.

subsisted, and certainly contributed to promote in no inconsiderable degree the growth of those studies which had shortly before been transplanted from Italy by the labours of William Grocin, Thomas Linacer, Richard Pace, and other Englishmen. Among those learned foreigners who had fixed their residence here, and were honoured with the patronage and friendship of the great, was Andrea Ammonio, a native of Lucca, who held an important office in the English court, and who, by his correspondence with Erasmus, appears to have enjoyed the particular esteem of that eminent scholar, and to have been possessed of no inconsiderable share of talents and of learning.[274] The arrival of Canossa, the papal legate, who was one of the most accomplished men of his time, extended still further the literary intercourse between the two countries. For the better effecting the purposes of his important mission, he had laid aside his ecclesiastical character, and appeared only as a private gentleman, to which rank he had just pretensions both by his education and his birth.[275] Erasmus was then in England, and having been invited to dinner by his intimate friend Ammonio, he there met with a stranger in a long vest, his hair inclosed in a caul, or net, and attended only by one servant. After wondering for some time at what Erasmus calls his military air, he addressed his friend Andrea in Greek, and inquired who this person was; to which he received for answer, in the same language, that he was an eminent merchant; which it seems Erasmus thought a sufficient reason for treating him with marked contempt. The party then sat down to dinner, when Erasmus and his friend entered into conversation on various topics, in which Erasmus did not fail to express his opinion of their associate, who he conceived was ignorant of the language in which he spoke. At length he adverted to the politics of the day, and inquired whether the report was true, that a legate was arrived from the pope, to reconcile the differences between the French and English monarchs; observing, that the pope did not want his opinion, otherwise he should have recommended that not a word should have been said about peace; but should rather have advised the establishment of a truce for three years, which might have given time for concluding negotiations. He then proceeded

to make further inquiries respecting the legate, and asked whether he was a cardinal, which led to a jocular contest between Erasmus and his friend, all which Canossa heard in silence. The patience of the latter being, however, at length exhausted, he first spoke a few words in Italian, and then turning towards Erasmus, told him in Latin, that he wondered he would reside in so illiterate a country, unless he chose to be the *only* scholar in England, rather than the *first* in Rome. Struck with the acuteness of this observation in a merchant, Erasmus replied, that he was better satisfied with residing in a country where there were many men of great learning, among whom he might occupy the lowest place, than in Rome, where he should hold no rank whatever. Erasmus did not, however, discover the imposition until he was afterwards informed of it by his friend, with whom he was in no small measure displeased; for, as he justly observes, he might perhaps have used some expressions respecting the legate, or even the pope, which might have proved to his disadvantage.* From this incident Erasmus imagined that the legate was offended with him; but this was so far from the truth, that Canossa, after his return to France, whither he went as apostolic legate, and where he was appointed by Francis I. bishop of Bayeux, wrote to invite Erasmus to come and reside with him; promising not only to maintain him, but to pay him two hundred ducats yearly, and to provide him with two horses and two servants;† an offer which Erasmus did not choose to accept; and which it seems could not remove from his mind the illiberal dislike which he had conceived against a man whom he had first known and conversed with in the borrowed character of a merchant.[276]

Whilst Leo X. was diligently attending to every variation in the political horizon of Europe, the immediate direction of the Florentine state was still intrusted to his young nephew Lorenzo de' Medici, who continued to reside at that city, and to maintain the rank of his ancestors, as representative of the elder branch of his family. But notwithstanding the authority of Lorenzo, and the external form of a popular govern-

* Erasmi Ep. lib. xxiv. ep. 24.

† Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 18, b. In this letter Canossa jocularly alludes to his first interview with Erasmus.

ment which was still preserved, the city of Florence was at this time virtually governed by the Roman court, and Lorenzo himself acted only in conformity to such directions as he received from the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was the organ of the papal will in all the transactions of the Tuscan state. The amity which now subsisted between the pope and the other European sovereigns restored to the city of Florence that tranquillity which it had not for many years enjoyed; and its history at this period is little more than the succession of its public officers, and the records of those splendid exhibitions, of which one of the chief objects was to reconcile the minds of the inhabitants to the loss of their former independence. These exhibitions, first introduced by Lorenzo the Magnificent, were peculiar to that city, and were intended to unite the charms of poetry with the most striking effects of picturesque representation.[277] For this purpose some well-known incident in ancient history, which might admit of the introduction of a splendid procession, was generally fixed upon, and neither expense nor labour was spared in displaying it to the utmost advantage. The triumph of Paulus Emilius had thus, in the time of Lorenzo the Magnificent, afforded a subject for the talents of Francesco Granacci, the fellow-pupil of Michael Agnolo, who had represented it with such a variety of invention, and in so characteristic a manner, as to have obtained great applause. Even after the exile of the Medici from Florence these exhibitions were occasionally continued, although with circumstances suitable to the more gloomy and superstitious character of the place. Among those who distinguished themselves by the singularity of their inventions was Piero di Cosimo, a Tuscan painter, who having made his preparations in secret, and engaged the necessary attendants, brought forth, in the midst of the public rejoicings of the city, "The Triumph of Death." This he represented by a car drawn by black oxen, and painted with imitations of bones and skulls, intermingled with white crosses. On the car stood a large figure of Death, armed with his scythe; and beneath, in the sides of the car, were openings representing sepulchres, from which, as often as the procession stopped, issued a troop of persons, who being clothed in black, and painted with white, so as to imitate the bones of the human

body, appeared in the gloom of night like so many skeletons. These figures, seating themselves on the car, sung the verses written for the occasion by Antonio Alamanni, among which were the impressive lines:

"Once like you we were,
Spectres now you see;
Such as we now are,
Such you soon shall be." *

This spectacle, which was accompanied by great crowds of attendants with appropriate standards and devices, affected the whole city with mingled sentiments of surprise and horror; but the novelty of the sight, and the invention which it displayed, excused so bold an attempt, and even obtained for the artist great commendation. There is, however, reason to believe, that a deeper meaning was couched under this exhibition than might at first sight have been suspected; and that it was in fact intended by the adherents of the banished family of the Medici, to represent the wretched and death-like state of Florence, whilst deprived of those to whom she had been indebted for her former happiness and glory.

The twenty-fourth day of June, in the year 1514, being the anniversary festival of St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of the city of Florence, and which had for ages been celebrated by the inhabitants with particular hilarity, was fixed upon by the young Lorenzo de' Medici for the exhibition of a splendid spectacle, accompanied with tournaments and rejoicings, intended to commemorate the return of the Medici to Florence, and the recent elevation of the family. This intelligence no sooner arrived at Rome than it threw the whole court into commotion, and the concerns of nations and the interests of the church were forgotten for a while in the anticipated pleasures of this great event. Many of the cardinals requested permission to be present at Florence on the occasion. Among these were Cibò and Rossi, both near relations of the pontiff, the cardinals of Ferrara and of Aragon, Cornaro, Bibbiena, and Sauli; who having obtained the consent of the pope, prepared for their journey; and that the dignity of their rank might not prevent their sharing in the amuse-

* Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p. 387. The whole of this piece may be found in the Canti Carnascialeschi, p. 131. Ed. Fior. 1558.

ments of the populace, they determined to assume borrowed characters. The cardinal Giulio de' Medici, although at that time indisposed, expressed his earnest desire to accompany his brethren; and even the supreme pontiff interested himself with such warmth in the preparation and conduct of this spectacle, as evidently demonstrated that he would himself have been present, had he not been prevented by a sense of the decorum due to his high station. He gave, however, positive directions that the most minute account of whatever might occur should be transmitted to him from day to day. His brother Giuliano, under less restraint, and accompanied by his friend Agostino Chigi, again visited his native place. The principal incident proposed to be represented was the "Triumph of Camillus" after his victory over the Gauls. In order to give greater magnificence and novelty to the procession, Lorenzo requested that the pope would permit the elephant and other animals which had been presented to him by the king of Portugal, to be sent to Florence. This request the pope thought proper to decline, as far as respected the elephant, which it was alleged could not, on account of the tenderness of his feet, travel to so great a distance; but the two leopards and the panther were sent under the direction of the Persian keeper. That these spectacles, besides tending to reconcile the Florentines to their dependent situation, generally concealed some political allusion, has already been observed; and the "Triumph of Camillus" was undoubtedly selected with a particular reference to the late expulsion of the French from Italy. The very recent accommodation of all differences between Louis XII. and the pope had, however, in some degree changed the disposition and views of the Roman court; and although it was not thought absolutely necessary to abandon the subject proposed, and to adopt one of a less hazardous tendency, yet strict admonitions were given that nothing offensive to the French nation, who were stated to be particularly susceptible of such insults, should be allowed to take place.

The extreme attention paid by the Medici to the acquisition of popular favour and applause is strikingly manifested in the correspondence between Rome and Florence on this occasion. Lorenzo is reminded that in the *giostra*, or tourna-

ments, which were to take place, and of which great expectations had been formed, he should be particularly cautious in making such choice of his partisans as might insure his success, so that the honour might rest with the family, as had been usual on former occasions. He is also advised not to rely on the Florentines, but to engage on his party strangers who had been more accustomed to such exercises; in other words, he was to assure himself of the victory before he entered the lists. The prudent advice of his political preceptors was accompanied by the still more cautious admonitions of his mother, Alfonsina, who then resided at Rome, and felt all the solicitude which a fond parent may be supposed to experience on such an occasion for an only son. "Your mother has been in informed," says the faithful secretary, "that you practise yourself in tilting, wearing heavy armour, and managing the great horse, which may in all probability be injurious to your health. I can scarcely express to you how much she is dissatisfied with these proceedings. In the greatest distress, she has enjoined me to write to you on her behalf, and to observe to you, that although your ancestors have displayed their courage on similar occasions, yet you should consider who and what they were. When Piero di Cosmo appeared in a tournament, his father, who governed the city, was then living, as was also his brother. At the time Lorenzo exhibited, his father was also in being, and he had a brother, Giuliano, the father of our most reverend cardinal; and when the same Giuliano tilted, Lorenzo himself governed. When your father appeared in the lists, he had two sons and two brothers; notwithstanding which he did not escape blame. You are yet young, and the magnificent Giuliano and yourself (both of you yet unmarried, and he infirm in his constitution) are the only support of the family. You cannot, therefore, commit a greater error than by persevering in such conduct, and she recommends that you should rather engage others in the contest, and stand by to enjoy the entertainment; thereby consulting your own safety and preserving the hopes of your family." How far these remonstrances were effectual it is of little importance to inquire; but they serve to shew with what an habitual solicitude every circumstance was regarded which could contribute to the support and aggran-

dizement of the family of the Medici; when even the solicitations of a mother to prevail on a son to attend to his personal safety were supposed to be most strongly enforced by such an argument.

The preparation of the apparatus on this occasion, as far as respected the machinery and decorations of the painter, was intrusted to Francesco Granacci, the same artist who had displayed his talents with so much applause in the service of Lorenzo the Magnificent; and his invention and ability in executing the task imposed upon him are highly celebrated in the records of his art.[278] Besides the furnishing appropriate designs for the cars, standards, dresses, escutcheons, and emblems attending this magnificent spectale, Granacci erected a triumphal arch opposite to the great gate of the monastery of S. Marco, in a rich and ornamental style of architecture. Several historical pieces, finely painted, so as to imitate tablets in *basso rilievo*, and elegant statues modelled in clay, gave additional grandeur to this temporary structure, and on the summit of the arch appeared in large characters ·

LEONI X. PONT. MAX. FIDEI CULTORI.

On the return of Giuliano de' Medici to Rome he was accompanied by his nephew Lorenzo, for the purpose of deliberating with the pope and the cardinal de' Medici on the measures to be adopted for increasing the power and authority of the family, and securing it against those dangers to which it might be exposed, in case it should be deprived of the protection of the pontiff. The cardinal had already made a decisive election in devoting himself to the church, and from his high station, and the influence which he now possessed, he was enabled to lay the foundations from which he hoped to rise to that supreme dignity which he afterwards obtained. It was therefore only in the persons of Giuliano and Lorenzo that the pope could realize those secular honours which he considered as necessary to the establishment and aggrandizement of his family. The character and disposition of these near relatives were, however, widely different. Of all the descendants of the Medici, Giuliano seems to have least inherited the ambition of his ancestors. Attached to the studies of polite literature, and delighted with the society

of those men of learning and of talents whom he met with at Rome, he preferred the charms of private life to the exercise of that authority which was within his grasp. The delicacy of his constitution was, perhaps, an additional motive to the choice which he had made; yet he was not without pretensions to military honours, and had frequently been in arms during the various attempts of the Medici to re-establish themselves in their native place. His nephew Lorenzo had, on the contrary, already given sufficient indications of a bold and aspiring mind. Dissatisfied with the administration of the Florentine state, in which he held no ostensible rank, except such as he enjoyed in common with other citizens, he had already begun to estrange himself from the society of the inhabitants, and to devote himself to military exercises, in the hope of being enabled, by the support of the pontiff, either to assume the absolute dominion of his native place, or to obtain an independent sovereignty in some other part of Italy.

The result of these deliberations appeared in the measures soon afterwards adopted by the pontiff; which have given occasion to the historians of these times to charge him with inconsistency in his designs and conduct, but which a nearer view of the state of Europe, compared with his own situation, and that of his family, will perhaps sufficiently explain. The character of Leo X. now stood high in the estimation of all the sovereigns of Christendom. Although not of royal descent, he was considered in his own person as the representative of the most respectable family in Europe that did not assume the insignia of sovereignty. To this was added the dignity of his high office, which entitled him to take the precedence of the proudest monarchs of the time; and these pretensions to superior respect were strengthened by the active and important part which he had taken in the political transactions of the times. It is true, it had been principally, if not wholly owing to his interference, that the emperor elect and the Catholic king had been disappointed in their endeavours to effect the proposed alliance with the crown of France; but Leo had so conducted himself on this occasion as to retain the favour of those sovereigns, even whilst he counteracted their purposes. By the emperor elect and the Venetian state

he had been appointed the arbiter of their differences; and although his decision had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the continual vicissitudes of the war, and the avarice and ambition of the cardinal of Gurck,[279] yet he still maintained his credit with both parties. The influence which he had acquired in the English councils was apparent on many important occasions, and might be accounted for, not only from the great attachment and respect which Henry yet entertained for the Roman see, but from the earnest desire of Wolsey to ingratiate himself with the pontiff. Of all the European sovereigns, Louis XII. was the prince with whom Leo stood in the most delicate situation: yet Louis was the very potentate whose favour he considered as of greater importance to him than that of any of the rest. He was now fully convinced that it was not in his power to divert the king from his projected expedition against Milan; and as the facilities afforded the king by his new alliance with England left little doubt of his success, it became a subject of serious deliberation to the pontiff how he might best counteract the injurious consequences of this measure, or rather how he might convert it to the advantage of himself and his family. For this purpose he turned his views towards the kingdom of Naples, conceiving that from the advanced age of Ferdinand of Spain, an opportunity would soon be afforded, both to Louis XII. and himself, of interfering in its concerns, and perhaps of occupying its government, to the exclusion of the young archduke; for whom it would not in such case be difficult to find sufficient employment in other parts of his widely dissevered dominions. This important acquisition Leo probably destined for his brother Giuliano; whilst the state of Tuscany, to which he also hoped to unite the duchies of Ferrara and Urbino, were the intended inheritance of his nephew Lorenzo. By these means the family of the Medici would have enjoyed a decisive superiority over any other in Italy, and by the subsequent union of these territories, which was likely to take place at no distant period, would have held an important rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

No sooner was this ambitious project determined on at Rome, than Leo not only began openly to relax in his

opposition to the king respecting his pretensions on the Milanese, but actually to make representations to him to prevent his relinquishing his projected enterprise; assuring him that the Spanish army in Italy was greatly diminished in its numbers; that the soldiery were unpaid, the people of Milan wretched and dissatisfied, and that with respect to the Swiss, there was no one who would undertake to subsidize them, and that it was well known they would not move without such an inducement. At the same time he gave the king to understand that he would exert his influence with Ottaviano Fregoso, to restore the authority of the king at Genoa, where the fortress of the Lanterna was yet in possession of the French. After having thus manifested his dispositions, Leo addressed himself to the cardinal Sanseverino, who was then considered as the agent of the French monarch at Rome,* by whose means he proposed to the king, that as the jealousy of other powers would not at this juncture permit them to enter into an ostensible and avowed alliance, it was his desire that they should at least lay the foundation of that future union which he hoped would ere long be established between them. For this purpose the pope transmitted to the king certain minutes, as heads of a private treaty, on which he requested to know his sentiments. The French monarch, in reply, expressed his acknowledgments for the confidence placed in him by the pontiff; but whether some of these propositions were of such a kind as to require long deliberation, or whether any other circumstance prevented the king from returning an earlier answer, certain it is, that he did not send his definite reply to Rome for the space of fifteen days, or upwards. Although this delay may appear inconsiderable, yet from the critical nature of the business, it alarmed the pontiff, who probably conceived, that if Louis disclosed this communication to the emperor elect and the king of Spain, it might draw down upon him their resentment. He therefore availed himself of an opportunity which was afforded him in this interval of renewing his treaties with those sovereigns for the term of a year, by which the contracting parties bound themselves to the mutual defence of their respective states. The reply

* Guicciard. lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 74.

of the king of France to the proposals of the pope arrived immediately after the signing these treaties, and the king thereby expressed his entire approbation of the terms of amity offered by the pontiff; suggesting, however, that as one article in the minutes obliged the king to the protection of the Tuscan state, and of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, it would be necessary that they should become parties in the engagement. On the arrival of this answer, the pope excused himself to the king for his apparent precipitancy in renewing his treaties with the houses of Aragon and Austria, the cause of which he attributed in some degree to the unexpected hesitation of the king himself. This apology Louis thought proper to consider as satisfactory, and the convention was agreed on. In order, however, to prevent the terms from transpiring, they were not declared by any public instrument, but remained in the form of a schedule under the signature of the respective parties.

These extraordinary measures are attributed by a great contemporary historian to the artifice and insincerity of the pope, who either conceiving that the king of France would undertake this expedition without his incitement, expected, in case it should prove successful, to secure his favour; or knowing that in the truce which Louis had entered into with the Spanish monarch and the emperor elect, it was stipulated that he should not attack the state of Milan, was desirous of embroiling him with those powers. It may, however, be presumed, that Leo had yet more important objects in view, and that he was at this period sincere in his endeavours to prevail upon the French monarch to make another descent upon Italy. The secret treaty undoubtedly contained some articles favourable to the advancement of the family of the Medici, and Leo might suppose that if he assisted the king in the accomplishment of so favourite an object as the recovery of Milan, he might in return expect his aid in obtaining the sovereignty of Naples; a proposition to which there is indeed reason to believe that the French monarch had given his express consent.[260] If this great object could have been accomplished, Leo would not only have laid the foundation of a splendid monarchy in his own family, but would have rescued the most extensive state in Italy from the opprobrium of a foreign

yoke. In sacrificing to this acquisition the duchy of Milan, he might also perhaps have looked forwards to a time when he might be able, by the aid of the Swiss, with whom he still maintained a secret but strict alliance,* to repeat the part which he had acted on a former occasion; and thus by liberating Italy from both the Spaniards and the French, to place on the head of his brother the only crown of which that country could boast.

In order to confirm the proposed union between the French monarch and Leo X. it had been further agreed, that a family alliance should be formed between them, by the marriage of Giuliano de' Medici with Filiberta, daughter of Philip, duke of Savoy, and sister to Louisa, the mother of Francis, duke of Angoulême, who succeeded at no distant period to the crown of France by the name of Francis I. This marriage, notwithstanding the important alterations which soon afterwards occurred, was celebrated in the early part of the ensuing year, and although unproductive of any offspring, probably led the way to those future alliances by which the family of the Medici became so closely connected with the royal house of France, and which all Christendom has had such ample reason to deplore.

But whether the proposed attempt was frustrated by the unexpected hesitation of the king, and the consequent engagements of the pontiff with other powers, or by the reluctance of Giuliano de' Medici to take an active part in so bold and hazardous a transaction, certain it is, that Leo soon abandoned his representations to Louis XII. on this subject, and began to adopt the most decisive measures for the defence of his new possessions in Lombardy, and for defeating the projected expedition of the French monarch against the states of Milan. He therefore gladly availed himself of an opportunity afforded him by the necessities of the emperor elect, Maximilian, of purchasing from that sovereign the city and state of Modena, for a sum of forty thousand gold ducats, subject to a right of redemption in the emperor on repayment of the money, which there was not the slightest probability that he would ever be enabled to reimburse.† This acquisition was of the utmost

* Balth. da Pescia a Lor. de' Med. 26 Mai, 1514. MSS. Flor.

† Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 108.

consequence to the pontiff, as it opened an uninterrupted communication between the states of the church and the cities of Reggio, Parma, and Piacenza, and in conjunction with those territories composed a rich and populous district of no inconsiderable extent and importance.

In the mean time, the war between the emperor elect, Maximilian, and the king of Spain, on the one part, and the Venetian state, on the other, was carried on with great activity; and as the latter was considered as the bulwark of Europe against the Turks, Leo availed himself of the information lately received respecting the successes of the Turkish arms, to attempt once more to effect a reconciliation between the contending powers, well knowing that if he could detach the Venetians from their alliance with Louis XII. it would either prevent his proposed expedition to Milan, or in all probability frustrate his expected success. To this end he despatched as his legate to Venice the celebrated Pietro Bembo, who still enjoyed the office of his domestic secretary, with directions to exert all his efforts for the purpose of prevailing on his countrymen to listen to such overtures of pacification as the pope was already authorized on the part of their adversaries to propose.

Bembo having undertaken this task, proceeded from Rome towards his native place; and that he might not commit himself by any unguarded expression in a negotiation of so delicate a nature, he, in the course of his journey, reduced into writing the arguments which he judged proper on such an occasion, which he read as a *proposto* or proposition from the pontiff to the senate. This singular document yet remains, and throws a strong light on the state of public affairs, and on the conduct which the pope thought it consistent with his duty or his interest to pursue.* After expatiating in ample terms on the services which the pope had sought to render to the republic, the orator adverts to the part which Leo X. had acted in effecting a reconciliation and alliance between France and England, and to the encouragement which he had given to Louis XII. to attempt the conquest of Milan, "whence he expected some advantages might have accrued

* Bembi Op. iii. p. 478.

to the Venetian state." The delay of the king in this long-threatened attempt is attributed to his indifference, or to his weariness of a contest which had involved him in such enormous expense. Under these circumstances, the legate earnestly advises the Venetians to terminate their differences with the emperor elect and the king of Spain, and to abandon their alliance with France; in which case he proposes to them, on the authority of his Catholic majesty, that all their continental possessions occupied by their enemies, excepting only the city of Verona, then held by the emperor, should be restored to them; they paying to the emperor four hundred thousand gold florins, or such other sum as the pope should judge reasonable. In directing the attention of the senate to the improbability of their deriving any future benefit from their alliance with France, the legate adduces arguments of a very extraordinary nature. "It may not only," says he, "be expected, but believed, that the king of France has relinquished his attempt upon Italy. Some months have elapsed since he concluded the treaty with England, at which time he had twenty thousand men in arms for this enterprise, and might have engaged in it with the consent and favour of the pope, and with the reputation acquired by his new alliance. At that time he might also have attacked his adversaries whilst they were unprepared and unwilling to oppose him, as well from other circumstances, as from their reverence for his holiness, who would openly have favoured his cause. If therefore he would not engage in this attempt, although invited and solicited by the pope, how can it be supposed that he will now undertake it, when the Swiss, the Spaniards, the emperor, the states of Milan, of Florence, and of Genoa, are all united with his holiness to oppose him, and are employed in preparations for that purpose? Add to this, that he has lately married a beautiful wife, who will daily withdraw his mind more and more from the concerns of war. There are, indeed, some who think that these nuptials will abridge his days, or rather render them very short indeed; considering that he is already advanced in years, not remarkable for his continence, and devoted to the love of this young damsel, who is not more than eighteen years of age, and the most beautiful and attractive woman that has been seen in

France for many years. In short, he is said to be already on the decline, and to have contracted complaints which will shortly bring him to the grave." When the legate ventured not only to utter, but to commit to writing such observations as these on so great a monarch, the avowed ally of his master, it is no wonder that he entreated his hearers, "in the name of heaven, to bury them in eternal secrecy." After having exerted all his eloquence in endeavouring to prevail on the senate to accede to his propositions, he proceeds to lay before them in strong terms the consequences of their refusal, which he asserts will infallibly lead to a conclusion of the treaty already in agitation between the king of Spain, the Swiss, the states of Milan, Genoa, and Florence, and the pope; who would be under the necessity of regarding the Venetians as their common enemy.

But although this oration has been regarded as a specimen of diplomatic skill and eloquence, it failed to produce the intended effect on the minds of the Venetian senators; nor can it be denied, that in committing topics of so delicate a nature to the formality of a written composition, the Roman legate acted the part rather of a scholastic rhetor, than of a judicious negotiator. A few days afterwards Bembo was again admitted into the senate, when a written paper was read to him in reply to his oration; by which, after expressions of respect to his holiness, the senate refuses either to relinquish Verona to the emperor, or to annul their alliance with the king of France. This answer was immediately despatched to Rome by Agostino Beazzano, a scholar of considerable eminence, who accompanied Bembo on his legation; and Bembo himself soon afterwards followed; but he was so fatigued with his journey that he was obliged to rest on his return a few days at Pesaro, where he met with his friends, Madonna Emilia Pia and the duchess Elizabetta, the widow of Guidubaldo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino. Bembo was aware that he might incur the suspicion of having feigned indisposition, that he might enjoy the society of these amiable and accomplished women; but in a letter to the cardinal da Bibbiena, which bears date the first day of the year 1515, he makes the most solemn asseverations that his illness is not a pretext; and if his assurances were not

believed, his delay was excused by his friends and patrons at Rome.*

This embassy of Bembo to the Venetian state was not only unproductive of those advantages which the pontiff expected to derive from it, but, if we may place implicit confidence in some of the historians of those times, tended to injure the character of the pontiff in the estimation of the French monarch; who is said to have been now fully convinced of the insincerity of the pope, and to have renewed his negotiations with Ferdinand of Spain, preparatory to his intended attack on the states of Milan.† Frequently, however, as this has been repeated as matter of reproach to the pontiff, it may with confidence be asserted that Louis was never informed of the result of this negotiation, and consequently that he could not have manifested that dissatisfaction with the conduct of the pope which has been so positively attributed to him.‡ On the very day that Bembo wrote the before-mentioned letter from Pesaro, his prophetic representations respecting Louis XII. were fulfilled by the death of that monarch; which event is also said to have been occasioned by the cause to which Bembo with so much confidence attributed it; he having survived his marriage only eighty days. It is not therefore to be supposed, that the purport of a negotiation which only terminated at Venice towards the end of December, could be conveyed to France prior to the first day of January; much less is it likely that Louis, when at the point of death, should have had either leisure or disposition to attend to political discussions; and at all events it is wholly impossible, that those subsequent negotiations should have taken place between Louis XII. and the pope, which are related at great length by writers of credit, and have given occasion to severe animadversions on the supposed duplicity and treachery of the Roman pontiff.§ But as it is difficult to conceive that the authors referred to can be mistaken on a subject in which they have almost uniformly concurred, it may be necessary further to relate, that on the departure of Bembo from Venice,

* Bembi Op. tom. iii. p. 496. † Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 107.
‡ Ligue de Cambray, lib. iv. tom. ii. p. 375. Murat. Ann. vol. x. p. 385.
§ Guicciard. lib. xii.

two envoys were despatched by the senate to the kings of England and of France, for the ostensible purpose of congratulating them on the restoration of peace, and on the alliance which had been so happily established between them. The ambassador to France was further instructed to assure the French monarch of the invariable fidelity and attachment of the senate to his cause, and to incite him by every possible effort to send an army into Italy without further delay; but whilst these envoys were yet on their journey, they received intelligence of the death of the French king, which terminated the chief object of their mission, and obliged them to wait for the instructions of the senate respecting their further destination.* Whatever, therefore, might have been the feelings, or the resentment, of Louis XII. had he lived to have been informed of the embassy of Bembo, it is sufficiently apparent that the sarcastic remarks on the conduct of the pontiff to which this incident has given rise have been falsely attributed to that monarch, and can only be considered as the fabrication of those who have substituted the fictions of their own fancy for the authentic records of historical truth.

The latter events in the life of Louis XII. had greatly diminished the glory which he had acquired in the former part of his reign; and the sanguinary and fruitless victories of Ghiaradadda and Ravenna were counterbalanced by the insults and defeats which he suffered from Leo X. and Henry VIII., the former of whom had expelled him from Milan, and the latter had established the English arms in the midst of his dominions, and reduced him to the necessity of securing, by the stipulated payment of an enormous sum of money, the safety of the rest. That inordinate and blind ambition which sacrifices the peace and happiness of a country to the vain expectation of foreign acquisitions, the attainment of which is often a greater misfortune than the miscarriage of the attempt, is in no instance more to be lamented than in that of Louis XII., who, if he had not been misled by this deplorable frenzy, would indeed have merited the appellation bestowed upon him by his subjects, of the father of his people. Throughout his whole reign no new taxes

* Paruta, Hist. Ven. lib. ii. p. 102.

were imposed in his dominions. He was the first sovereign who secured the peasantry of France from the rapacity of the soldiery, who were before accustomed to plunder them with impunity: and his memory was rendered dear to his country by his edict in 1499, by which he ordered, that the law should on all occasions be strictly enforced, notwithstanding any contrary directions which the importunity of individuals might obtain from the sovereign.

About two months after the death of the king, his young and beautiful widow married the accomplished Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, to whom she is supposed to have been attached before her former marriage, and who attended her to France, although he was not nominated as one of the embassy. Mezerai asserts that the duke of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I., caused this English lord to be narrowly watched, lest he should give the king a successor. This second marriage was a cause of great displeasure to Henry VIII., but his sister assuming the blame to herself, and protesting that she had almost compelled the duke to this rash action, the anger of the king was not of long duration. The progeny of this marriage was numerous. Frances, one of the daughters, married Henry Grey, afterwards duke of Suffolk, by whom she became the mother of the accomplished and unfortunate lady Jane Grey, who reluctantly contended with the bigot Mary for the crown of England. The other descendants of the princess Mary, intermarrying with the English nobility, have diffused a portion of the royal blood through many of the principal families in the kingdom.

DISSERTATION

CHARACTER OF LUCRETIA BORGIA.

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If the Lucretia of ancient history has been considered as the glory of her sex, the Lucretia of modern Rome has been alleged as an example of its disgrace and its shame. From her own times to the present, her depravity is on historical record; yet many circumstances concur to raise considerable doubts in the mind of an impartial inquirer, whether the horrible accusations under which her memory labours be well founded. Amidst the licentiousness that characterized the age in which she lived, the most flagrant charges acquire a probability which they could not in another period obtain; and among the vices of the times, calumny and falsehood have in general been at least as active as the rest.

To the present day Lucretia is, for the most part, only known as the incestuous daughter of Alexander VI., the prostitute, in common, of her father, and of her two brothers; one of whom is supposed to have assassinated the other from jealousy of his superior pretensions to her favour. If nothing more had been recorded respecting her than the charges of her accusers, we must have submitted to receive their information as true; with those doubts only which the abominable nature of the accusation must always inspire. But Lucretia Borgia is known, from other sources of information, to have been a woman of great accomplishments, as well of mind as of person, and to have passed the chief part of her life in an eminent station, not only

without reproach, but with the highest honour and esteem. If the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots, how are we to conceive it possible, that the person who had, during so many years of her life, been sunk into the lowest depths of guilt and of infamy, could at once emerge to respectability and to virtue? The history of mankind furnishes no instances of such a rapid change; and we are therefore naturally led to inquire upon what evidences such charges have been made; and as from their nature it can scarcely be supposed that they are capable either of positive proof, or of positive refutation, we must be satisfied to form our belief according to the best evidence of probability.

That accusations of this nature were brought against Lucretia early in life, and during the pontificate of her father, there is great reason to believe. The first traces of them appear in the writings of the Neapolitan poets, who being exasperated against Alexander VI. for the active part which he had taken in the expulsion of the house of Aragon, placed no limits to their resentment.[281] These imputations might, however, scarcely have deserved a serious reply, had they not received additional credit from the pen of the distinguished historian Guicciardini, who informs us, that "it was rumoured, that not only the two brothers, but even the father, were rivals for the love of Lucretia."* By these rumours it is probable that he alludes to the writings of the Neapolitan poets, with whose works, it is to be remarked, he was well acquainted, as appears from the manner in which he refers to the small river Sebeto, near Naples, so frequently the theme of their applause.

These authorities have been considered as sufficient grounds for future historians to assert the guilt of Lucretia in the most explicit terms; nor have even the writers of the Romish church hesitated to express their conviction of her criminality in the most unqualified manner, and the tale of her infamy has accordingly been admitted into general compilations and biographical dictionaries as undoubted matter of fact.† It can, therefore,

* Guicciard, lib. iii. † Moreri, art. Cæsar Borgia, &c.

occasion no surprise, that the Protestant authors have frequently expatiated on a subject which, as they suppose, reflects such disgrace on the Roman see. In the writings of Henry Stephens,* of Bale,† and of Gordon, this accusation forms a conspicuous feature; nor is it less decisively admitted by the discriminating Gibbon, in his "Antiquities of the House of Brunswick." "In the next generation," says this author, "the House of Este was sullied by a sanguinary and incestuous race; by the nuptials of Alfonso I. with Lucretia, a bastard of Alexander VI., the Tiberius of Christian Rome. This modern Lucretia might have assumed with more propriety the name of Messalina; since the woman who can be guilty, who can even be accused, of a criminal intercourse with a father and two brothers, must be abandoned to all the licentiousness of venal love."

Such being the evidence on which these charges have been generally believed, it may now be proper to state such circumstances as may throw additional light on the subject. This will perhaps be most effectually done, by taking a brief review of the principal circumstances in the life of Lucretia, as far as they can be collected from the writings of her contemporaries; and by comparing her conduct and character, as it is represented by those to whom she was well known, and by whom she was highly respected, with her conduct and character as represented by those who have, either directly or indirectly, countenanced imputations against her of so detestable a nature.

Before the elevation of Alexander VI., his daughter Lucretia, not being then of marriageable age, had been betrothed to a Spanish gentleman;‡ but on his obtaining the pontificate, he dissolved the engagement, apparently with the ambitious view of forming a higher connection. On the twelfth day of June, 1493, being in the first year of her father's pontificate, she was accordingly married to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, a grandson of the brother of the great Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan.§ With

* Apologie pour Herodote, liv. 1. p. 559, ed. 1692.

† Pageant of Popes, p. 173, ed. 1574.

‡ Nardi, lib. iv. p. 75. § Murat. An. vol. ix. p. 569.

him she resided till the year 1497, when some dissensions having arisen between her and her husband, she quitted him, and the pope afterwards dissolved the marriage; "not being able," as Guicciardini asserts, "to bear even a husband as a rival, and having proved, by suborned evidence, before judges delegated by himself, that Giovanni was impotent.* This separation gave rise to a disagreement between the pope and Sforza, in consequence of which, the latter was in danger of being deprived of his dominions, which he preserved only by resorting to the Venetians for assistance.

If the reason given by Guicciardini for the interference of the pope on this occasion be the true one, he soon changed his mind, having shortly after entered into a treaty for a marriage between his daughter and Alfonso, duke of Bisaglia, and natural son of Alfonso II., king of Naples.† This marriage was celebrated in the year 1498, and the pope conferred on his daughter the perpetual government of the duchy of Spoleto, and invested her with the territory of Sermoneta, of which he had shortly before deprived the family of Gaetani.‡ The offspring of this marriage was a son, who was born in the month of October, 1499, and named after the pontiff, Roderigo. The attention paid by Alexander to the education of this child has been considered as a presumptive proof, that he stood related to him in a still nearer character than that which he avowed; but when it is recollected, that this son was the future hope of an ambitious and aspiring family, and, detached from all criminality, was allied to the pontiff by the near claims of consanguinity, there seems no need to resort to other motives to explain the conduct of Alexander on this occasion. From the explicit evidence of Burchard, who appears to have intruded himself into the most secret transactions of the apostolic palace, we may exonerate the pontiff and his daughter from this heinous charge, and allow that there are good grounds to admit that Alfonso of Arragon was the father of the child.

* Guicciard. lib. iii. † Burchard, Diar. ap. Gordon.

‡ Murat. vol. ix. p. 601.

The unfortunate husband did not long survive this event. In the month of June, 1500, he was attacked on the steps, before the great door of the church of S. Pietro, by a band of assassins, by whom he was dangerously wounded. That the perpetrators of this crime were persons of rank, may be conjectured from their having been escorted out of the gates of Rome by a body of forty horsemen, who protected them in their flight. Alfonso, yet living, was conveyed into a chamber in the apostolic palace, where he struggled with the consequences of his wounds upwards of two months, and, as Burchard asserts, was then strangled in his bed. The physicians who had attended him, and a person who had waited on him during his confinement, were apprehended and examined, but were soon afterwards liberated. The death of Alfonso, like that of the duke of Gandia, has been attributed to Cæsar Borgia, but with no other evidence than that which arises from presumptions, founded on the general atrocity of his character, and the supposed criminal attachment to his sister; to which it has been added, that the new connections which he had formed with Louis XII. operated as an inducement with him to terminate his alliance with a family which he had already devoted to destruction.[282]

A few days after the death of Alfonso, his widow, who has never been accused of having had any share in this horrid transaction, retired for some time to Nepi, for the purpose of indulging her grief. On her return to Rome, she was intrusted, during the absence of the pope, with the management of public affairs; for which purpose she was empowered to open all letters addressed to the pontiff, and directed, in cases of difficulty, to consult with some of the cardinals in the confidence of the pope. We may agree with Muratori, that this mode of government conferred but little honour on the pontiff; but we can scarcely admit it as a proof, as some have been willing to assume, of an incestuous intercourse between the father and the daughter. To a short time subsequent to this period, we may, however, refer those abominable scenes of lewdness, which are said to have been transacted within the precincts of the apostolic palace, and which, however incredible, are recorded by Burchard, not only without

a comment, but with as much indifference as if they were only the usual occurrences of the day. But it is highly important to our present subject to observe, that throughout the whole narrative of this loquacious master of the papal ceremonies, who seems on no occasion to have concealed what might disgrace either his superiors or himself, there appears not the most distant insinuation of that criminal intimacy between Alexander and his daughter, or between her and her brothers, which if he had known or suspected it to have existed, it is not likely, from the tenor of other parts of his narrative, that he would have been inclined wholly to conceal.

However this may be, the pope, who never for a moment lost sight of the aggrandizement of his family, in the latter part of the year 1501, entered into a negotiation for uniting Lucretia in marriage to Alfonso of Este, the son of Ercole, duke of Ferrara. This connection was highly flattering to the house of Borgia, as well from the elevated rank of the husband, who was expected shortly to take a respectable station among the sovereigns of Italy, as from his personal character, which had already given rise to expectations, that his future conduct abundantly confirmed.* In accounting for an union which has in later times been considered as degrading to the family of Este, some have been inclined to attribute it to the advantageous proposals made by the pope, who, besides an immense sum which he expended in jewels and apparel, gave to his daughter on her marriage one hundred thousand gold crowns, and accompanied them with the grant of the territories of Cento and Pieve; whilst others have conjectured, that the princes of Este were rather terrified than allured to such a measure, by their apprehensions from the ambition, rapacity, or resentment of the family of Borgia.[283] The marriage ceremony was performed at Rome on the nineteenth day of December, 1501, with circumstances of uncommon magnificence, which are related by Burchard with great minuteness. Her journey thence to Ferrara, and her splendid entry into that

* "Principe glorioso nel mondo," says Muratori, "che in senno e valore ebbe pochi pari al suo tempo."—Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 262.

city on the second day of February, 1502, are dwelt upon at great length by contemporary writers, whose narratives exhibit a curious picture of the manners of the age.*

At this period of the life of Lucretia, when she was finally removed from the Roman court to the city of Ferrara, which became her residence during the remainder of her life, some reflections occur on her past conduct. That the daughter of Alexander VI., young, beautiful, and accomplished, educated in the midst of a luxurious city and a profligate court, might, on all occasions, have escaped the general contagion, will not perhaps be readily believed; but with respect to the incestuous intercourse, of which she had been so generally accused, the circumstances of her life and conduct afford no evidence; on the contrary, the anxiety of her father, to avail himself of the first opportunity of uniting her to another husband, must be considered as a strong indication, that his own attachment to her was not of the criminal nature before referred to. Were it also to be granted, that the family of Este was induced to accede to this marriage by the allurements and persuasions, or was terrified into it by the dread of the vengeance of the pontiff, it must still require a considerable portion of credulity to believe, that either Ercole, duke of Ferrara, or Alfonso his son, who were distinguished by their virtues and their talents, both civil and military, beyond any of the sovereigns of the time, would have submitted to have perpetuated their race through the contaminated blood of a known and incestuous prostitute.

The arrival of Lucretia at Ferrara gave a new impulse to those studies and literary amusements, by which that place had been so long distinguished. Among the many men conspicuous by their talents and their learning, who at this time frequented the court, was the celebrated Pietro Bembo. He had accompanied his father, who had visited that city in a respectable public character, and the attractions which he had met with in the literary society of the place had induced him to prolong his residence there. The reputation which Bembo had already obtained by his

* Muratori, Rer. Ital. Scrip. vol. xxvii. p. 398.

writings, and perhaps his personal address and accomplishments, early introduced him to the notice of the duchess, who received him with that freedom and affability for which the Italian courts were then remarkable. At this time Bembo was about thirty years of age, and it appears from his letters, that he had twice been the slave of an amorous but unsuccessful passion. The extraordinary beauty, the various endowments, the vivacity and condescension of the duchess, were attractions too powerful for him to resist, and there is reason to believe, that Lucretia Borgia was destined to complete that amorous servitude of three lustres, or fifteen years, of which he frequently complains. The epistolary correspondence of Bembo contains several letters addressed to the duchess of Ferrara, to which she frequently replied.[284] But although it might be presumed, from her letters, that she was not wholly insensible to the passion of her admirer, by whose attentions it is probable she was highly flattered, yet it must be observed, that Mazzuchelli, one of the most judicious critics that Italy has produced, considers this attachment as having been regulated by sentiments of propriety and honour; nor is it indeed likely, that a friendly epistolary intercourse would have been continued for so long a time after the termination of a connection, which could never have been recollected by either of the parties without sentiments of compunction and of shame. In the letters of Bembo to the duchess of Ferrara, which extend from the year 1503 to the year 1516, he at some times communicates to her his own sorrows, and at others congratulates her on the birth of her children: but the warmth of the lover, if it ever existed, soon gave place to the respect of a friend, and the introduction of frequent apologies for his neglect, or omissions, clearly indicates that he had long relinquished that character, which on their first acquaintance he appears to have been willing to assume.

The attachment of Bembo to Lucretia Borgia was not, however, so cautiously concealed, as to have escaped the notice of his friends, the two Strozzi, with whom he lived at Ferrara on terms of the utmost intimacy, and at whose villa, in the vicinity of that city, he passed a considerable portion of his time. Tito, the

father, has recorded this passion in an enigmatical epigram, which it is not now difficult to explain, and Ercole, the son, in confiding to Bembo his own amours, adjures him to conceal them with the same secrecy with which he has himself preserved those intrusted to him by the confidence of his friend.

From this period the conduct of Lucretia Borgia, during the remainder of her life, being an interval of upwards of twenty years, was not only without reproach, but in the highest degree commendable and exemplary. Amidst the disturbances which agitated Italy, and which frequently threatened Ferrara with destruction, she was intrusted by the duke, during those warlike expeditions in which he so eminently distinguished himself, with the government of the state, in which she conducted herself so as to obtain, not only the approbation of her husband, but the respect and affection of his subjects. By Alfonso she was the mother of three sons, the eldest of whom succeeded to the government of the state of Ferrara, by the name of Ercole II.[88] Towards the close of her life she became severely *rigid in* her religious duties, and devoted herself to works of benevolence and piety. From the official letters of Leo X. it appears that she had applied to that pontiff, soon after his elevation, for his spiritual advice and consolation, which he conceded to her in the fullest terms, with high commendations of her exemplary life. It is true, that long after she had established a character beyond all just reproach, and when her father was no more, and her brother was driven from Italy, the voice of calumny did not fail to pursue her amidst the splendour of a court; and in the vindictive lines of Sanazzaro, Lucretia is the heifer that wanders disconsolate on the banks of the Po, lamenting the loss of her mate. But the motives of these accusations have already been explained, and even if Sanazzaro had been more impartial, the distance of his residence from Rome would prevent his being considered on such an occasion as an authentic evidence.

But although the charges against Lucretia Borgia appear to be wholly unsupported, either by proof or probability, it would be unjust to her talents and her character, to close the present inquiry without adducing some of those numerous testimonies in

her favour, with which the writings of the most celebrated scholars of the age so frequently abound. In this we need not rely on the applauses bestowed on her by Ercole Strozzi, or Antonio Tebaldeo, who may be considered as the poets-laureate of Ferrara, the former of whom has in particular availed himself of every opportunity of resounding her praise.* Still less must we found our decision on the various poems, both in the Latin and Italian tongue, which Bembo has consecrated to her honour, because he may not be considered as an impartial judge. Yet we cannot pass unnoticed the letter, in which he inscribes to her his romance of the "Asolani," which he completed and published at her request, and in which he addresses her "as a princess, who was more desirous of ornamenting her mind with excellent endowments, than her person with the decorations of dress. Applying all her leisure hours to reading or composition.—To the end," says he, "that you may surpass other women, as much in the charms of your understanding, as you already do in those of external beauty, and may be better satisfied with your own applause, than with that, however infinite, of the rest of the world."

The historians of Ferrara, so far from supposing that the family of Este was degraded by their union with Lucretia Borgia, mention her with the highest praise. Giraldi denominates her "a woman of uncommon excellence;" and Sardi, "a most beautiful and amiable princess, adorned with every virtue." Yet more honourable is the praise of Libanori; who describes her as "a most beautiful and virtuous princess, endowed with every estimable quality of the mind, and with the highest polish of understanding; esteemed as the delight of the time, and the treasure of the age."† Cavicco, in the year 1508, dedicated to her his work, entitled "Il Peregrino," and adverting to the celebrated Isabella of Este, daughter of Ercole I. duke of Ferrara, and wife of Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, he conceives

* Several of the principal poems of Ercole Strozzi, as his "Venatio" and "Gigantomachia," are inscribed to Lucretia.

† Mazzuch. vol. v. p. 1751.

encouragement and protection ;[286] but in addition to those already adduced, it may be sufficient to cite the grave and unimpeachable testimony of one, who, from the respectability of his character, cannot be suspected of flattery, and who indeed cannot be supposed to have had any other motives for his commendation, than such as he has himself assigned ; the favour and assistance which he afforded to every meritorious undertaking, and to every useful art.

The person referred to, is the celebrated printer, Aldo Manuzio. From the tenor of his address to her, prefixed to his edition of the works of Tito and Ercole Strozzi, it appears that she had offered, not only to assist him in the establishment of his great undertaking, but also to defray the whole expense attending it. If the sentiments which he attributes to her, were in fact expressed by her, of which there appears no reason to doubt, they sufficiently mark a great and a virtuous mind. "Your chief desire," says he, "as you have yourself so nobly asserted, is to stand approved of God, and to be useful, not only to the present age, but to future times ; so that, when you quit this life, you may leave behind you a monument that you have not lived in vain." He then proceeds to celebrate in the warmest terms of approbation, her piety, her liberality, her justice, and her affability. If Lucretia was guilty of the crimes of which she stands accused, the prostitution of her panegyrists is greater than her own ; but of such a degradation several of the authors before cited were incapable ; and we may therefore be allowed to conclude, that it is scarcely possible, consistently with the known laws of moral character, that the flagitious and abominable Lucretia Borgia, and the respectable and honoured duchess of Ferrara, could be united in the same person.[287]

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I. P. 12.

Innocentio VIII. Pont. Max.

Sanctissime ac beatissime Pater et Domine. Post pedum oscula beatorum.

Intendendo dall' imbasciatore nostro che la S. V. è in fermo proposito di fare nuovi cardinali in brevi giorne, me parebbe meritare grandissima reprensione, se io non le ricordassi in questo caso l'honore di questa città et mio anchora, che per sua clementia sono certissimo, secondo mi scrivi l'imbasciatore predetto, che quella se ne ricorda. Ringratio la S. V. di tale sua dispositione, e supplico a quella molto humilmente, se mai sono per ricevere alcuno rilevato beneficio da quella, si degni abondantemente e con effecto porgerne il premio della gratia sua, della quale la richieggo questa volta con quella efficacia che farei a N. S. Dio la salute dell' anima mia. Io non credo che in tutto el tempo del pontificato suo la S. V. possa fare cosa che porti seco maggiore obligatione di questa città verso la S. V. perchè come questa dignità è stata molto rara, et par consequenza da uno tempo in quà molto desiderata, così passerebbe con grandissima molestia quando restassi mal contenta. Di me in particolare non parlo, perchè non potrei desiderare più questa cosa che è in effecto un desiderio ardentissimo dello honore mio, el quale havendo sempre preposto alla vita propria, può considerare la S. V. quando seguissi altrimente ch'io speri, in che termine mi troveria, che non mi parebbe esser più al mondo. L'imbasciatore nostro è informato a punto de' pensieri miei, dalli quali non sono punto mutato, nè vorrei perdere il bene pe'l meglio, quando il meglio non si possa. Però non potendo obtenersi el primo, supplico la S. V. si degni nell' altro tenere la mano su lo honore mio,

ricordando però alla S. V. con ogni humiltà, devotione, et fede, che in questo caso quella non ha da havere altra legge o resistentia se non quella che lei medesima vorrà per benignità ed humanità sua; perchè in arbitrio di V. S. è, et absolutamente in mano sua tutta questa cosa, et conseguendo questo immortale beneficio mi chiamo per sempre satisfacto et obligatissimo. Senza questo non veggo modo come sia in facultà di V. S. di satisfare e ricomperare l'honor mio, et la opinione che quella hà data che io sia nella gratia sua. Raccommandomi humilmente alli piedi di V.B. e supplicola mi habbi per excusato se io non li ho scripto di mano propria, che lo hò facto per darle mancho molestia, non essendo troppo buono scriptore, et anche perchè me trovo impedito da una mano, e sariami stato difficile.

V. S. Humillimus Servitor,

LAUR. DE MEDICIS.

Florentiæ, die 1. *Octb.* 1488.

No. II. Note 15.

Ex orig. in Archiv. Reipub. Flor.

Magnifico Viro Laurentio de Medicis Patri optimo. Florentiæ.

SALVUS sis. Se e non vi havessi **** (*mancante*) dare adviso di qualche cosa. Io Venerdi mattina fui ricevuto in publico, accompagnato da S. M. dal Populo insino a palazzo, e da palazzo in fino in Campo di Fiore da tucti questi Cardinali, et da quasi tucta la Corte, et da una grande piova. Fui visto da Nostro Signore molto gratiosamente: non gli parlai quasi niente; el dì sequente li Oratori visitarono Nostro Signore; hebbono gratissima audientia. El Papa mi riservò il dì sequente per udirmi, che è hoggi; sonvi ito, et la S. Stà. mi ha parlato tanto amorevolmente, quanto è possibile; hami ricordato, et confortato a fare qualche cosa in queste visitationi de' Cardinali, che le ho cominciate a fare in questi che ho visitati; che tucti che vi scriverò un' altra volta chi sono; dimostrono molto di esser volti benessimo verso voi. Delle cose passate so ne siete suta advisato. Di me non ho da dirvi

altro, se non che io mi sforzerò di farvi honore. De me proloqui ulterius, nefas. Io ho havuto molto caro l'adviso del vostro stare molto meglio; et non ho altro desiderio, se non di sentirlo spesso, et di questo per insino a hora ne ringratio Ser Piero. Io mi raccomando a voi. Non altro.

Jo. Filius.

Romæ, die xxv. *Martii*, 1492.

No. III. P. 64.

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Magnifico Viro Petro de Medicis, fratri meo carissimo. Florentiæ.

Magnifice frater, &c. Per questa poco m'accade se non significarti, che sono sano, quale in tanto vulnere decet; paulatim tamen me ex dolore, quantum in me est, colligo. Sed hæc missa, ne vulnus exacerbem. Ho alcune tua, per le quali intendo l'animo et la voglia tua. Nil eorum, quæ petis, adhuc factum est; terrotti tamen avvisato del processo di tutto d'hora in hora. Così di questo, come d'ogni altra mia cosa, fa anche tu quello medesimo; che non posso havere cosa più grata, che intendere spesso di voi nuove, et come stiate tutti; sicchè non t'incresca tenermene avisato. Questo voglio aggiugnere, che intendendo, che forse s'harà a mutare el Proposto Di San Giovanni, ti voglio raccomandare Ser Francesco della Torre, quale è stato per me uno pezzo a Miramondo, et essi portato molto bene; et credo questo sarà proprio un luogo da lui, sicchè te lo raccomando. Preterea bisogna che io ti roccomandi Francesco degli Albizi, che desiderebbe che tu lo facessi sedere Gonfaloniere questo Maggio: faramene piacere facendolo, perchè ho quà uno suo figliuolo, che mi serve bene: volendolo fare, ti prego, gli facci intendere, te lo raccomandato, di che me ne rimetto a te. Per altra mia ti sciverò qualche cosa: per hora basti quello ti scrivono gl' Imbasciatori, et questo. Raccomandomi a te, et saluta tutta la brigata per mia parte, conteregli tutti, se non che el foglio non basterebbe. Non altro.

Tuus Io. Fr.

Romæ, die xix. *Avrilis*, 1492.

No. IV. Note 102.

Ex orig. in Archiv. Reipub. Flor.

Hoc est INVENTARIUM LIBRORUM, *qui inventi sunt inter Libros Domini* ANGELI POLITIANI, *quos secernendo extraxit inde Dominus* JOHANNES LASCHARI *Græcus, ex commissione Dom norum ; coram Domino Theodoro et coram Domino Bartholomæo de Crais ; quod inventarium confectum fuit in domo Petri de Medicis, die* XXIV. *Octobris,* 1495, *ut patet in originali.*

ARISTOTELIS Poetica, et quædam alia in Græco. *in Papyro.*

GALENI de compositione pharmacorum. *in Papyro.* in Græco.

PETRI HISPANI, Dialectica et quædam alia, in Græcum de Latino versa. *in Papyro.*

Leges quædam, cum glossis. *in Membrana.* glossulæ vero sunt in marginibus.

Omeliæ JOHANNIS GRISOSTOMI. in Græco.

SERVIUS, in Virgilium. *in Membrana.* Latinus codex.

ARISTOTELIS de Mundo, in Græco ; simul cum POLEMONIS meditationibus, et Aristotelis Metaphysicis. *in Papyro.*

Compendium trium Librorum ORIBASII ; factum per HARTIUM. *in Papyro.*

Instituta, in Græco. *in Papyro.*

Epistolæ THEODORI LASCHARIS. *in Papyro.* in Græco.

ACTUARII opus de Medicina, de Urinis : in Græco. *in Papyro ;* et GALENI quædam.

GALENI quædam in Medicina, et ejusdem liber de dicto Auctore, in Græco. *in Papyro.*

ALEXANDER TRALIANUS, in Medicina, in Græco. *in Papyro.*

LIBER GALENI in Medicina ; cujus primum capitulum de Cardiacis. *in Papyro. In asseribus, sine operimento.* in Græco.

GALENI de compositione pharmacorum. *in Papyro.* Signatus No. 225. Græco.

Liber GALENI in Medicina ; in Græco. *in Papyro.* habens primum capitulum de Theriacis Alexipharmicis. *In asseribus, non opertus.* Signatus No. 223.

GALENUS de usu particularum in homine, et liber ejusdem de pulsibus. *in Papyro.* et Græco. Signatus No. 215.

PRISCIANUS quidam antiquus. *in Membrana.* Signatus No. 347. Latinus.

PRISCIANUS iterum antiquus. *in Membrana.* No. 626. Latinus.

DEMOSTHENIS Orationes. Græcæ. *in Papyro.*

Historia ZONARÆ. *in Papyro.* in Græco.

GALENI de pharmacis, secundum genus. in Græco. *in Papyro.* No. 218.

PEDACII Dioscoride Anazarbis, in Græco. Liber de materia. *in Papyro.* Signatus No. 230.

Compendium Philosophiæ GEORGII PROTERTIOI. in Græco. *in Papyro.*

ARISTOTELIS Metaphysica parumper, et *Galeni* de Anatomia. No. 216 (*hunc Codicem D. Io. Lascari penes se*).

Pars POLLUCIS et quædam alia, et POLIENIS Stratagemata. in Græco. *in Papyro, et antiquo codice, volumine, mediocri, tecto operimento rubro.* No. 91.

Excerpta quædam ex diversis auctoribus, et proverbia, et quædam alia. Sine tabulis. *in Papyro.*

PYNDARI Olympia, et pars Pythiorum, cum expositione. *in Papyro.* in Græco. No. 87.

XENOPHONTIS Græciæ Historia, *in Papyro.* Sine tabulis. in Græco. No. 662.

Quædam in Physica. Primum de Climatibus Terræ, et Expositio THEONIS in Arati phenomena. *in Papyro.* Sine tabulis. in Græco. No. 139.

ARISTOTELIS Politica. in Græco. *in Papyro. Ligata in quadam carta membranea.*

ARATUS cum expositione. in Græco. *in Membranis, ligatus in quadam carta.*

Galeni Liber antiquus. in Græco. *in Membranis. In quadam carta.*

Vocabula quædam Medicinalia, et quædam alia. in Græco. *in Papyro. In tabulis, sine operimento.* Vetustissima. No. 221.

Quædam recollecta a Domino ANGELO POLITIANO in pueritia sua. *in Papyro.* in Latino, *et ligata simul in quadam carta membranea.*

No. V. Note 201.

Bandini, Collec. Vet. Mon. Arati, 1752.

LUDOVICI AREOSTI.

Reverendissimo in Christo patri et Domino D. meo col. D. Cardinali de Medicis Bononiæ Legato dignissimo.

Ut a tribus incompatibilibus, ut inquit auctor, solvatur, enixe rogat.

REVERENDISSIME Domine D. mi Colendissime. La servitù, et observantia mia, che da molti giorni in quà ho sempre avuta verso Vostra Signoria Reverendissima, e l'amore, e benignità, che quella mi ha dimostrata sempre, mi danno ardire, che senza adoperare altri mezzi, io ricorra ad essa con speranza di ottenerne ogni grazia; e quando intesi a dì passati, che Vostra Signoria Reverendissima aveva avuta la Legazion di Bologna, ne ebbi quell' allegrezza, che averei avuta, se 'l Patron mio *Cardinale da Este*, fusse stato fatto Legato; sì perchè de ogni utile, e d'ogni onore de Vostra Signoria, sono di continuo tanto desideroso, e avido, quanto un vero, et affectionato Servitore, deve esser de ogni exaltazione del Patron suo, sì anche perchè mi parve, che in ogni mia accurrenzia io fusse per avere quella tanto propicia, e favorevole, quanto è debitore un grato Patrone ad un suo deditissimo Servo.

Supplico dunque Vostra Signoria Reverendissima de volermi per Bolla dispensare *ad tria incompatibilia*, et a quel più, che ha autorità di fare, o che è in uso, et a più dignitade ensieme, con quelle ample clausule, che si ponno fare, *et de non promovendo ad Sacros* ordines per quel tempo, che più si può concedere. Io son ben certo, che in Casa di Vostra Signoria Reverendissima è chi saprà far la Bolla molto più ampla, che non so dimandare io.

L'Arciprete di Santa Agatha presente exhibitore, il quale ho in loco di Patre, et amo per li suoi meriti molto, venirà a Vostra Signoria per questo effecto. Esso torrà la cura di far fare la supplicatione di quello, che io dimando. Supplico Vostra Signoria Reverendissima a farlo expedir *gratis*, la qual mi perdoni,

se io le parlo troppo arrogante, che l'affectione, e servitù mio verso quella, e la memoria, che ho delle offerte fattemi, da essa molte volte, mi darebbono ardire di domandarle molto maggior cose di queste (ancorchè queste a me paranno grandissime) e certitudine d'ottenerle da Vostra Signoria. Se ricordi, che deditissimo Servo le sono, alla quale umilmente mi raccomando.

Ferrariæ XXV. Novembris MDXI.

D. V. Reverendissima,

Deditissimus, et Humilis Servus,

LUDOVICUS ARIOSTUS FERRARIENSIS.

No. VI. P. 311.

Bembi Ep. Pont. lib. i. ep. 23.

HENRICO REGI BRITANNIÆ.

ET si ea, quæ de tua religione atque in hanc rempub. nosque ipsos propensa præstantique voluntate, deque tuis plurimis egregiisque virtutibus Episcopus Wigorniensis Legatus tuus quotidie commemorat, mihi per se gratissima jucundissimaque sunt, tamen illa ipsa gratiora etiam & jucundiora efficit ejusdem oratoris probitas, prudentia, virtus, atque is, quo illum amplexus magnopere sum, amor charitasque mea prope singularis. Itaque cum de eo, quæ volo, quæque de Rege præstantissimo magnæque spei adolescente possunt dici libenter exaudio, tum propterea quod ab homine nobis amicissimo & virtute prædito tuæ virtutes prædicantur, uberiorem ea res nostram eam voluptatem facit. Spem enim capio fore, ut quoniam animi tui magnitudinem atque præstantiam, cum egregia in Deum Opt. Max. pietate et in Romanos Pontifices observantia maxime conjunctam & consociatam esse intelligo, & tu de tuis virtutibus uberrimos jucundissimosque fructus, & Christiana respub. de te magnos proventus, egregia incrementa, illustres utilitates sit perceptura. Quam te in cogitationem incumbere noctes atque dies decet, ut in ista adolescentia florentique tua ætate, ea fundamenta jacias virtutis

& probitatis tuæ, quibus reliqua ætas omnis egregie præclareque nitatur. Quod erit, si in hujus Pontificatus observantia non modo permanebis, sed etiam in dies singulos magis magisque te accendes ad ejus dignitatem, majestatem, gloriam, & tuendam & augendam. Id cum, ut spero, ipse feceris, curabo profecto ego, enitarque ut ea tibi a me ornamenta proficiscantur, quibus lætari facile possis te ejusmodi cogitationes suscepisse. Hæc autem, atque his longe plura, deque mea non solum spe, sed etiam erga te mente, quamquam multa cum oratore tuo egerim, in meas tamen etiam ad te literas partem eorum aliquam facile conjeci, ut tibi ipse omnia de me paterna officia polliceri uberius, & cumulatius posses. Reliquum est ut intelligas, eundem ipsum oratorem tuum, quem tum etiam, cum fortuna leviore nitebamur, unice semper dileximus, nunc, quia is egregiam tibi singularemque operam præstat, a nobis etiam impensius amari; ejus enim & prudentiam atque agendis rebus probitatem cognitam perspectamque habuimus jam inde ab illis temporibus cum is viri clarissimi Patris tui istiusque Regni res negotiaque procurabat summa atque mirifica diligentia: & postea ex adversis ejus turbulentisque rebus, quæ sunt illa tempora consequutæ, magnam molestiam cepimus: utque hominis plane probi & nobis amicissimi ægre molesteque tulimus illam calamitatem. Quas ob res atque causas omneis cum eum tibi esse charissimum existimem, illud magnopere cupio, ut mea commendatione tibi sit etiam charior, omnibusque in rebus, quæ ad ejus dignitatem pertinebunt, quibus in rebus ei aspirare provehereque illum possit aura studii & favoris tui, quæ quidem res erunt semper plurimæ atque maximæ, & fidem illius erga te, & meam in illum benevolentiam charitatemque recordere. Dat. tertio Non. April. M. D. XIII. Roma.

No. VII. P. 318.

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 50.

Ad Regem Litera Cardinalis Eborum, super Victoria in Conflictu communiter vocato, LA JOURNEE D'ESPERONS, *super Indulto nuper Papæ in manibus Cardinalis Sinagalensis deposito, super Reductione Scismaticorum Cardinalium, & de Imperatore movendo pro Pace cum Venetis.*

PLEASE IT YOUR GRACE,

THE Fifth Day of this Month the *Poopis Holinis* was advertised from oon Ambassadour of the Florentynes, Resident at the Fransshe Court, upon *Yor Grace* late Conflict with th' Ennymyes of the Churche, and the manner of Your moste Victorious Tryumphe obtenyde against the same; whiche was unto *his Holines* and all odir Your *Grace's* Frendes Lovers and Servaunttes here marvalous grette Joye and Comforthe, and surelie unto your Ennemyes in this Courtt no lesse Paine and Discourage.

Uppon the Morrowe next aftur I went unto the *Cardinall Sinogalen*, desyring him, in *Your Grace's* Name, for to have deliverde unto Me the *Breve*, that *Youre Grace* knowthe of, putt into his keeping for *Yor Highnes* by the Blessed Memorye of *Pope Julye* according to the said Popis Commandement:

He answered me that nodre he is ne ever was of oder mynde but that *Your Grace* shulde have it uppon the accomplishyng of such Conditions as be compriside in the same, which he grauntithe that nowe *Your Grace* most noblie and with moost glorious Victorie hath fullfillide; Albeit he saithe that, because the said *Breve* is of so greate and so weightie Importance, apperteignyng the perpetuall Honour of so Highe and Myghtie a Prince, he durste no be so boulde as to deliver itt from his Hands unto ony levying Creatour without speciall Commandement yeven unto hym from *Your Grace* in Writing; whiche hade, he saithe, he will with all his Hartt and Mynde deliver itt unto Me for *Your Gracis* Bihove and Honour, soo he grauntith that the said *Pope*

Julie commaunded hym, he praithe *Your Grace* to latt itt be noo otherwise shewide butt that Ye hade the saide Breve in Youre Haundes in *Pope July's* Days, he wolde nott that the *Popis Holines* that nowe is shulde in ony manner knowe the contrary.

And, stounding that *his Holines* hath Confirmyde all such Indulties and Graces as the said *Pope Julie* did Graunte unto *Your Grace*, whereof this said *Breve* is oon and moost of Gravite, Me semyth *Your Highnes* may right honourabilie and condignlie desire of *his Holines* speciall Confirmation of the said *Breve* in more ample maner *under Leade;* whiche I truste verali nodre he will ne convenyently may denye.

I sende unto *Your Grace*, with thies Presenttes, a Lettre from my said *Lorde Cardinall Sinogalen*, writen with his own haunde, uppon his loving contynuyde good Mynde and Woll towards *Yor Grace* in the Premysses.

If it may stonde withe *Your Graces* Pleasour, att convenyent tyme, aftyr youre receptt of the said *Breve*, to Yeve unto hym some Promotion more or lesse in recompence of his trewe and feithfull demenour towardis your *said Grace* in this Bihalf, I thinke that nat oonlie it should grettlie redunde unto your Honour, but also reteigne hym evir to contyenewe as oone of *Your Gracis* moste kynd and loving Frendes during his Lyve.

After that thies Newes afforesaide ware dyvulgate in the Citie here, th' Ambassadour of Venyce, being here Resident, desiride Me withe grett instance moste humblelie to besiche *your Grace* uppon thare bihalfe, that, stoundying that *th' Emperour* is now presentt with *Your Grace*, ye woll wiche save to move his Majestie for some goode and indifferentt Peace to be establashide betwixt the Same and Them; He depeeched a Curiour straightlie unto their Signorie with writing uppon this forsaide Ovarthrowe of the Franshmen, and saithe he doubtithe nott butt the hoill Signorie woll in all haste possible addresse their Letters towards *Your Grace* of most humble Supplication for the Premysses, supposing veralie that, by reason of *th' Emperiall Majestie* Presence with *Your Highnes*, ye shal set some goode Ordor betwixt Them, and doubtith not, as he said, but that the saide Signorie wol be right tractable thereunto.

Uppon the *Breve* of Confirmation of all such Grauntes as *Pope Julie* had grauntide unto *Your Highnes* sundrie days affore that ye were advertiside thereof frome Me ande my Lorde your Oratour here, and in like maner uppon the Restitution of the Sciswatiques *Saintt Crossis* and *Saintt Severyne*, I pray *Your Grace* nott to thynke herefore that he shulde in your Causes be more diligent or use better Studie for th' Exspede therof then We do; well I am assuride that the *said Breve* was graunted and finallie Exspede, save onlie at the Plombe, Sundrie Days affore that ever he knewe it laboride; fore as soon as he hade knowlege of it, he corruptid oon of the Secretaries, and gatt of hym a Copie, to th' entent he myght shew unto *Your Grace* his pretendite Diligence and goode Service.

He myght right longe affore have shewide unto *Your Grace* the intendide Restitution of the said Schismatiques; His Diligence and Labours were moche more seen in bryngyng that matier to pass thenever I did see in hym for ony Cause apperteignyng owdere to *Yor Gracis* Honour or Pleasour.

Thus I shall most hartlie besiche the Blesside Trinitie for the Preservation of Your moste Highe and Roiall Astate.

From *Rome*, the xiith Day of September 1513.

Your moost humble Beedman and Subject.

No. VIII. P. 326

Rymer. Fœdera, tom. vi. p. 51.

SERENISSIMO AC EXCELLENTISSIMO PRINCIPI ET DOMINO MEO COLENDISSIMO DOMINO HENRICO, ANGLIÆ, &c. REGI.

SERENISSIME & Excellentissime Rex et Domine, Domine mi Colendissime, Humillimam Commendationem.

Provexit me nuper non mea quidem virtus, quæ exigua aut nulla est, sed *Summi Pontificis* Benignitas, cum Tribus aliis Dominis & Collegis meis ad Cardinalatus Dignitatem:

De qua (verum fatebor) non tam mihi existimo lætandum esse,

quam illud considerandum quo, ut unusquisque se cognoscat, admonemur.

Equidem ut de me loquar, nam aliis jampridem eam Dignitatem merito deberi sciebam, in eum ordinem me sentio relatum, illud fastigium ascendisse ubi sine periculo consistere posse vix me puto; nam video quale æquor intravimus & cujus navis remigio admoti sumus, nec cui confidam certior ac vicinior succurrit quam Autor Deus, qui dignabitur sua clementia vires præbere sustinendo ponderi quod imposuit, & honorem quem dedit conservare, meque eam vitam ducere quæ creditæ mihi Dignitati conveniat.

Quod vero ad meam in *Majestatem vestram* servitutem attinet, visum mihi est nunc Illi scribere non tam ut promotionem Illi meam significarem (quam ex aliorum literis auditam illi puto) sed animum ut aperirem meum clarissimis ac felicissimis inclytisque ejus rebus gestis Deditissimum & obstrictum.

Et, quicquid ex hac mea Dignitate, qualiscumque futura ea est, honoris, emolumenti, industriæ, laboris, ac studii promittere possum, Illi omnia dedicare, sicut vero & optimo Principi & de sancta Universali Ecclesia, difficillimo ejus tempore, tantopere merito, mihi vero præcipuo & singularissimo Domino; & cui ego & Familia nostra omnis omnia debemus, & ejus Regio Servitio parata semper offerimus.

Habeat in hac Curia plurimos *vestra Regia Majestas* doctrina, prudentia & auctoritate præstantiores; qui me fide, animo & affectu erga eam sit superaturus inveniet certe neminem, sicut ex suo ore, qui Servitutis meæ testis est locupletissimus, planius intelliget, *Vestra Regia Majestas;* cui me continue & humillime commendo.

Romæ ex Palatio Apostolico xxx Septembris, M.D. xiii.

Excellentissimæ Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis,

Humillimus et Fidelissimus Servitor,

J. Cardinalis de Medicis.

No. IX. Note 231.

Rymer. Fœder. tom. vi. p. 53.

LITERA PAPÆ LEONIS AD PACEM HORTATORIA.

CHARISSIME in Christo Fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Eis ex Literis, quas ad Nos & quibus ad Dilectum Filium nostrum *Cristophorum Tituli Sanctæ Praxedis Presbiterum Cardinalem* rationes tuas de eo ipso Legato non admittendo perscripsisti, cognovimus animum *Majestatis tuæ* non ita, uti vellemus, deflexum ad Pacem, & a consiliis concordiæ aliquantum abhorrentem; sed tamen ut ex eisdem literis & constantis Regis & Invicti Principis virtus atque animus eluceat; quippe enim Te religione Fœderum & Conjunctorum Regum societate ac concordia impediri scribis, quo minus Tibi consilia Pacis seorsum ab illis capias; firma quidem in eo & constans est ratio tua, neque aliter decet Regem Magnanimum & Præstantem, sed neque a Nobis consilium ullum profectum est erga Te ut illis relictis Paci solus studeres. Nos enim evellere ex animo tuo omnes odii atque inimicitiarum aculeos voluimus, ut illis ejectis tanquam in bonum solum sic in sensum tuum Pacis & Concordiæ semina jaceremus: nec tamen Tibi soli hoc persuadere nixi sumus; sed, hortante Nos nostri honoris munere atque officio, Venerabilibus etiam Fratribus nostris, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, & ab initio Pontificatus nostri, & postea sæpe tam in Consistoriis nostris secretoque in Sacri Concilii Lateranensis Sessionibus palam Nos ad hanc curam suscipiendam conficiendæ Pacis vocantibus & obtestantibus, agere cum cæteris quoque Regibus, ad arma si qui spectant, non destitimus, neque vero desistemus, Deique in eo voluntati & Saluti Christiani nominis quantum eniti poterimus, omni & studio & opera adhærebimus; præsertim cum etiam multorum Regum atque Principum querelæ ad Nos per Literas & nuncios ipsorum parlatæ sint, ferentium graviter & indignantium has perseverare inter Christianos discordias, non solum

fidei Catholicæ perniciosas, sed ne ipsis quidem qui eas exercent ullo modo utiles.

Quocirca etiam, *Carissime in Christo Fili*, Nobisque in amore & paterna Caritate præcipue adhortamur in Domino & rogamus, ut dedere Animum tuum nostris amantissimis Consiliis velis.

Etenim cum illud nobile & gloriosum propositum animi tui, quo ad arma capienda adductus es, ut Libertatem Ecclesiasticam violatam Injuria nonnullorum defenderes, Sedisque Apostolicæ dignitatem ab omni labe vindicares, jam ad exitum perductum sit, hostesque tui numine & tua incredibili virtute, tuorum quoque Confœderatorum Opera, positis animis contumacibus, ad Unitatem Ecclesiæ & erga Nos ac sedem Apostolicam Reverentiam humiles accesserint, est jam tuum gerere inimicitias placabiles, et si tuo Honori satis consultum fuerit, Pacem quoque potius quam Bellum appetere. Illius enim jam tui præstantissimi facti fructus, qui Tibi ex nostra & totius posteritatis prædicatione uberrimi debentur, Tibi sunt & erunt semper paratissimi, nunc, sicut armis invictum Te præstitisti, ita optimis consiliis tractabilem Te ut præbeas, erit non minoris laudis tuæ quam illud fuit gloriæ. Nos quidem, qui & constantiam ac fidem tuam probamus, & virtutem miro amore complectimur, non Tibi suademus quæ contra tuam honestatem sint, ut sine Confœderatorum tuorum consensu Te ad Pacem accedere velimus; sed salva Dignitate tua & honorificis conditionibus paratis ut animum promptum ad Pacem, si cæteri consenserint, habeas, id rogamus; nec Te ab Illis avellere, sed, Te, Nobiscum una, Illos adhortante, causamque Dei & Pacis fovente honestis conditionibus arma ponere animum cæteri ut inducant, Nos aliquid assecuturos speramus; *Majestas quidem tua*, si Consilia nostra in eam partem acceperit ad quam diriguntur, seseque ad illa & suas Deliberationes accommodaverit, aget & ex Summi Dei Sententia & ex virtute ac humanitate sua.

Datum *Romæ*, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die Decima septima Decembris, Millesimo quingentesimo decimo tertio, Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo.

JA. SADOLETUS.

Carissimo in Christo Filio nostro Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri.

No. X. P. 342.

TRANSLATION *of the Greek Verses prefixed by* MARCUS MUSURUS *to the works of* PLATO.

SPIRIT DIVINE, who 'midst thy kindred throng
Of sainted heroes sit'st, to whom 'tis given
To track the burning wheels that bear along
The great Creator o'er the deeps of heaven!
IMMORTAL PLATO! from thy lofty sphere,
Revisiting again this genial earth,
Accept the volume we thy votaries bear,
The sacred work that owes to thee its birth.
Where, full displayed, we trace the mighty hand
Of him, the ONE great Architect; unchanged
Who fills the void of space, and whose command
Th' empyreal orbs in eight-fold order ranged.
Suspended high, of all his works the chief,
The fix'd sun pours his unextinguish'd light,
Whilst seven inferior stars, in soft relief,
Shed their mild lustre o'er the shadowy night.
Or wondering mark th' unceasing central force,
Bound by whose chain the mighty whole revolves,
While unreluctant in its silent course,
Each in due time its fated round absolves.
Thence too the glorious hope that fires the soul
With secret longings for its heavenly home,
Spurns the dull bonds of earth, the base control
Of mortal fate, and lives beyond the tomb.
Nor uninstructed by thy sacred page,
We bid the city's towering ramparts rise,
By justice guard them, and by statutes sage
Define the bounds of right; with watchful eyes,

Whilst Shame and Punishment, immortal pair,
Protect the peopled haunts. But ah, what tongue
To number all the sacred truths shall dare
That breathe thy warm, inspiring page along?
Thou then accept the votive tome, and haste
To ROME's seven-crowned hills, where still resides
Imperial sway, and midst AUSONIA's waste
Rich TIBER rolls his fertilizing tides;
Not there a tyrant's scowling brow to meet,
Of Scylla born, who mocks the heavenly muse;
No Dionysius fierce; for there shall greet
Thy welcome presence He whom Europe views
With wondering awe, her pastor and her guide,
From great LORENZO sprung; the brightest star
Of MEDICEAN fame; with conscious pride
Whom his own FLORENCE hails; and from afar
The sceptred rulers of the nations own,
And as their Lord obey; in towering state,
Imperial LEO named; who bears alone
The key that opes Olympus' lofty gate.
There, as the holy portals meet thy sight,
A friendly train around thy steps shall throng,
Accomplished bards, whom virtuous toils delight,
Lords of the lyre, and masters of the song.
But two beyond the rest those precincts grace;
The first from GRÆCIA, of distinguish'd fame,
To whom, derived from LASCAR's noble race,
The triple-fronted God concedes his name.
'Twas he my infant steps with ceaseless care
Guarded, and loved me with a parent's love;
He bade me to the muses' hill repair,
And pointed out the glorious meed above.
Illustrious BEMBO next; whose honied tongue
Gives in three languages his thoughts to flow;
O'er whose blest birth the sister graces hung,
And taught his mind with all their charms to glow.

Be these thy guides; and, to his presence brought,
Thou, with submissive lip, his holy feet
Touch reverent; then, with sacred fervour fraught,
In strains like these the mighty pontiff greet:
"PASTOR REVERED, propitious be thy smile
O'er all thy flock, to earth's remotest ends;
Nor thou refuse the offspring of his toil,
The Grecian tome thy duteous ALDUS sends—
Sends, but, in conscious independence bold,
A great remuneration dares to claim;
Not silver high embossed, nor heaps of gold,
Nor splendid robes with purple tints that flame;
But that thy hand might dash the fiend of war
That now relentless o'er EUGANIA'S plain
Roams uncontroll'd, and drives his iron car
Through scenes of horror, and o'er heaps of slain.
What heart so hard that would not melt to hear
The orphan's wail, the widow's piercing cry?
Antiphates himself might drop a tear,
And Polyphemus heave a pitying sigh;
Temples and domes a common ruin share,
The crackling harvests in the flame expire,
Whilst fierce barbarians, all unused to spare,
Glean the last relics of destructive fire:
Calm thou their fierce contentions, MIGHTY CHIEF!
To peace, to love, thy erring sons restore;
From thee let suffering nations find relief,
And bid contending monarchs rage no more.
Deep hid within his cavern's dark recess,
Too long has Mars the goddess Peace confined;
Thou lead her forth, to harmonize, to bless,
And with her bounteous gifts enrich mankind.
Then turn the tide of war on TURKEY'S shores,
And curb the wolf-like unbelieving band,
Whose tyrant empire, fainting GREECE deplores;
Whilst, hovering now o'er IAPYGIA'S strand,

They threaten in degrading chains to bind
Thy sons, and banish the REDEEMER'S name;
But let them first thy ready vengeance find;
On ASIA'S shores let warlike myriads gleam.
There let the GAUL, in mailed armour bright,
Spur his proud steed, conspicuous from afar;
HELVETIA'S sons, on foot who urge the fight,
Sweep o'er the field, a sable cloud of war,
And they who joy to wield the glittering spear,
The bold IBERIANS, shall the battle grace;
GERMANIA'S giant offspring too be there,
And, loved of Mars, BRITANNIA'S hardy race;
And all who yet survive the wasteful sword,
ITALIA'S heroes, long in battle tried;
All prompt to march through regions unexplored,
Scale the steep hill or stem the surging tide.
With these PÆONIA'S tribes, the bow who bend,
Their feathery shafts, oft tinged in Turkish blood;
And VENICE there her countless fleets shall send,
Imperial VENICE, mistress of the flood.
SPAIN'S floating battlements of mountain size
Tow'rds the wide HELLESPONT their course shall steer,
And whilst the towering masts salute the skies,
Each warlike prow the healing cross shall bear.
Then o'er BYZANTIUM'S towers if once again
The light of freedom dawn; if then, repress
By thy victorious arms on GRÆCIA'S plain
The poisonous dragon low'r his hateful crest,
'Tis all achieved—for then, from bondage freed
ACHAIA'S sons their ancient fires shall feel;
Beneath their hands the barbarous foe shall bleed,
Or fly before their swift avenging steel.
And shouts of triumph, and victorious songs,
And grateful anthems shall to heaven arise;
And whilst around thee crowd the conquering throngs,
All ASIA'S wealth shall glitter in thine eyes.

And clad in sounding arms, the warrior bold
  Shall join the dance and share the social mirth;
Revolving time a better age unfold,
  And sacred Justice, long estranged from earth,
Again return propitious; nor in vain
  Raise o'er the guilty head her awful sword;
And all mankind beneath thy equal reign,
  Enjoy the lasting peace by thee restored.
Haste, happier hours! meanwhile with pleased regard,
  Let drooping SCIENCE own thy fostering care;
O let the studious but neglected bard
  Thy favouring smile, thy liberal bounty share.
From GRÆCIA's shores, from fair ITALIA's clime,
  Call thou their noble sons impatient forth;
Ingenuous youths, who feel the glow sublime,
  Of native genius or paternal worth.
And 'midst thy ROME a calm retreat provide,
  Hid from the crowd; but near the shelter'd home
Let the fair Naiads roll their constant tide;
  So may it emulate the far-famed dome
Of Grecian ACADEME: where once 'twas mine
  To pour instruction 'midst the youthful band,
Imbue the generous breast with truths divine,
  Retracing all that early culture plann'd.
These now no more remain—yet still survive
  The latent sparks of learning's holy flame;
O let thy breath its genuine glow revive,
  Till each young bosom catch the lucid beam.
On TIBER'S banks ATHENIAN bands shall rove,
  Nor mourn to quit ILYSSUS' favour'd strand;
Surrounding thousands shall thy toils approve,
  And give thy name to every distant land.
Through every clime, in every varied tongue,
  The Rhetor's eloquence, the Poet's fire,
To future ages shall thy praise prolong;
  And but with time itself thy fame expire.

Too oft, forgetful of their trust divine,
Have former pontiffs burnt with warlike rage;
But, by paternal maxims taught, 'tis thine
To heal the wounds of war and meliorate the age."
Thus by thy strain, IMMORTAL PLATO! fired,
Shall mighty aims engage his ardent mind;
Such once his father's glowing breast inspired,
The friend of peace, the light of human kind.
Then, whilst his wondering eye thy form shall trace,
In full dilated majesty outspread;
The sacred features of thy beaming face,
And ample honours of thy hoary head;
Awhile in pleased attention shall he bend,
And to thy precepts yield a willing ear;
But now thy destined hour arrives—ascend
And join the triumphs of the heavenly sphere.

No. XI. P. 351.

Ex orig. in Archiv. Palat. Reipub. Flor.

Baldassare da Pescia Lorenzo de' Medici, a Flor. Roma, XXVI. *Martii,* 1514.

AD li di passati ve Scripsi, come el Generale di Valombrosa era stato misso in Castello per ordine di Nostro Signore; hora havendo inteso, che lo hanno solum appichato ad la fune per tirarlo su, et che lui ha confessato tra le altre cose haver facto adorare uno manico di rasoio per Legno di Croce, et certa falsità di Contracto, et innanzi che fussino le ruine di casa vostra, haver facto dia piu de uno anno, uno Psalmo, *Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*, &c. per farla ruinare, et altre cose di importantia, io, come quello che ho pensato, che simile cose meritano punitione grande, et ad minus, pepositione dell' offitio, et parendomi questo esser cosa d'importantia in la Citta vostra, curiosamente, et come affectionato di V. S. sono stato questa sera ad longum cum Monsignore Reve-

rendissimo, et domandatoli ad che termine erano le cose sue, et che io desideravo saperle per significarle ad V. S. La medisse, tu hai facto bene ad domandarmene, perchè te volevo imporre gliene scrivessi, et scrivegli, come io lo feci mettere in castello, et che hora mai ho molto bene justificato le cose sue, et ha confessato di sorte, che io penso ad ogni modo farlo privare dell' offitio, et per obviare, che non si parli, et dica, che noi lo facciamo per avaritia, et per torgli la Badia et entrate sue, io andavo pensando di fare unire quella Relligione di Vallombrosa ad la Congregatione di Monte Cassino, et smembrarne uno otto, o nove mila ducati, et lì in Firenze edificarne una bella Chiesa di S. Giovangualberto, o altro Santo loro, et parte unirne ad alchuni Monasteri che sono lì, et di homini, et donne, che vi sono, che sono poverissimi, et si moiono di fame, et il resto da ducati in sù M. darli ad Monte Cassino, che nonci doverranno fare difficultà, et riempieri et assettare in Firenze quelli poveri et povere che vi sono, ad futuram rei memoriam, &c. Et vi fa intendere, che questo è l'animo suo; nondimeno ho voluto, che voi lo sappiate, et che segretamente, et cum dexterità voi ne parliate cum alchuni de quelli vecchi, et tritamente examiniate questa cosa, et qual fussi et sia la opinione vostra et loro gliene significhiate; sicchè non ne parlerece, se non cum quelle persone, che vi parranno ad proposito vostro, advertendole, che nonne parlino con homo alchuno. Signore mio, questo mi è parso, et pare una cosa d'importantia grande, et quando non si facessi questo disegno di Monsignore Reverendissimo V. S. pensi, che se si ha ad fare Generale nuovo, como si farà di metterci uno, che sia ad proposito vostro, e se vi paressi, che M. Guerrino vostro, o alchuno altro fussi bono, pensici quella, perchè havere lì uno di chi voi ve ne possiate valere ad ogni vostra posta, et non ce lo havere, se importa assai, sendo la cosa d'importantia, como è; io dal canto mio di quà non cesserò andare pensando cosa che sia, se non per tornare in utilità, et commodo vostro, cum quella audacia, dexterita, et curiosità si ricerchano ad uno bono, et fedel servo, et non mancherò mai ricordarvi quello poco, che io cognoscerò, rimettendo mi però sempre in ogni cosa all' judicio, et parere vostro.

superiori cum apud Insulas Oppieses essemus, huic rei, XV. die mensis Maii proxime præteriti, per Oratorem nostrum operam dedimus, atque hoc quoque ab eisdem Domini Principis Gubernatoribus (quamquam sæpe a nobis admonitis et rogatis) fuit neglectum. Quapropter dicta Illustrissima Soror nostra, consultatione prudentum habita, quicquid per eumdem nostrum Patrem, suo nomine, cum prædictis Domini Principis Gubernatoribus actum fuerat, coram Notario publico et testibus se rescindere, ac irritum habere protestata est : atque re dissoluta dicto Serenissimo Francorum Regi est desponsata, et matrimonium per ejusdem Regis Procuratorem jam contractum. Quo vinculo non dubitamus sinceriorem et constantiorem inter eum et nos pacem futuram : ad quam quidem crebre studiosissimeque vestræ Sanctitatis adhortationes, et demonstrata nobis ab ea, non istius Sanctæ Sedis modo, verum etiam totius Christianæ Reipublicæ utilitas non imprimis allexerunt, ea sane spe, ut non nostra tantum, sed et omnium Christianorum arma plus nimio in mutuas cædes grassata, finem aliquando faciant, et in Christiani nominis hostes convertantur ; qui fraternas nostras cædes læti ac ridentes spectant, et nos eo melius rem sibi gerere, ac magis strenue sibi militare, quo atrocius in nostra ipsa viscera sævire arbitrantur. Proinde Sanctitatem vestram etiam atque etiam oramus, ut quod sanctissime cogitavit, et feliciter cœpit, universali paci componendæ nunc maxime instet, Divinoque suo concilio, et quantis valet precibus, sicuti apud nos fecit, ita apud cæteros Principes Christianos agat, summaque vi in tam præclarum, tamque vestra Sanctitate dignum, Christianæ Reipublicæ salutiferum opus adnitatur : quo pulcherrima illa, votisque omnibus et nobis semper exoptata adversus infideles expeditio concordibus omnium Christianorum armis animisque conspiciatur : quod aut sub vestra Sanctitate, aut sub nullo alio Pontifice nos visuros speramus. Ex palatio nostro Greenvici die XII. Augusti M.D. XIIII.

No. XIV. Note 287.

(*Ital. Ed.* vol. vii. p. 300.)

No. I.

Lettere di Lucrezia Borgia, Duchessa di Ferrara, a Gian-Giorgio Trissino.

Magnifice Amice Nr. Carissime: havendo facto intender allo Ill.mo Signor Nro. Consorte tutto el ragionamento havessimo de lo Illmo. D. Hercule nro figliolo carissimo, Sua Ex. ne ha riceputo grandissimo contento, et perchè lei desideraria chel puto intertanto nò perdesse tempo la seria contenta, che per vro mezzo segli ritrovasse uno M.ro in gramatica. Così a detto de parlarvine, et noi havemo voluto anticiparvi cum questo adviso pregandovi, conoscendo maxime che questo non torna a disonore nè incommodo altrimenti vro a volervi disponer a satisfar al P.to S.or N.ro et a noi principando cum questo il pigliare del governo et cura del P.to N.ro figliolo, e quanto più presto l'haveremo tanto più grato, et se non simo stata più presta a darvi tale adviso l' è proceduto, che prima di adesso non havemo potuto ritrovarsi col P.to S.or nro. il quale questa setta è partito de quì, et offerimone di bon core alli vri beneplaciti.

Belriguardi XVIII. Sept. 1515.

A nra et vra. satisfactione havemo parlato col S.r Hercule da Camerino, che viene a Ferrera, il quale più particularmente vi dirà di ciò lo ano nro.

Tergo. Lucretia, *Ducissa Ferrariae.*

Mag. Amico Nro. Car.mo Dno. Io. Georgio Trissino.

No. II.

Mag.ce ac doctrissime Vir amice N.r Car.me. Mandassimo la vra. lra per nro. Cavallaro a posta a quel D. Nic.o Lazarino; et aprissimo la resposta, ch' esso mandava p. sapere quel che diceva, e poi la rimettessimo all' Illmo. S.or Nro. Consorte, dal quale non sapèmo se vi fu mandata: essa contenia solo, che ditto, D. Nic.o pigliava certo termino breve a venir a nostri servitii: il

qual passato noi havemo rimandato altro nro. Cavaliaro a sollicitarlo: et esso ha risposto a Noi in manera, che d'ora in hora lo expettamo: et a voi scrive la qui alligata, pensando forsi, che voi fussi a Ferrara: havemo voluto ch' el tutto vi sia noto: havemo piacer intender per vre lre come state; et a vri beneplaciti ci offerimo sempre. Ferrae XXII. Nobris 1515.

Pregovi, che vi piacqua raccomandarmi al R.mo Car. le Gurcensis.

Tergo. LUCRETIA, *Ducissa Ferrariae.*

Mag.co Doctiss.o Amico Nro. Carmo.

Dno Joan. Georgio Trissino S. D. N. Nuntio apud Caesarem.

No. III.

M.co Mess. Jo. Georgio N.ro Car.mo Havendo inteso da vro Cognato exhibitore di una vra a noi la diligente, et amorevele opera fatta da Voi a nra satisfactione, è stata allo Illmo S.re. N.ro, al quale lungamente, et minutamente habbiamo communicato el tutto, e parimente a Noi di rariss.o contento, et veramente meritoria col dimostrato buon animo vro di quella obbligatione, che l'uno e l'altro di Noi ve ne sente. Et perchè haveressimo anco molto desiderio di poter partialmente parlar cum Voi nel ritorno vro di cose, che sarebbe di molta opera, e di poco contento vro el scriverle, mi fareste piacer molto singulare ad trasferirve sin quà; il che facendo Voi serà più presto passata, che dimora. Et da mo restando Noi in expectatione, di molto cor vi si offeriamo. Et bene valete.

Tergo.

Mag. Amico Nro. Car.mo Ioanni Georgio Trissino.

Romae.

In Ferrara XXVI. di Martio MDXVI.

La vra *Duchessa di Ferrara.*

No. IV.

Magnifice Amice Nr. Carissime: stando in expectatione di haver qualche nova di voi havemo havuta la vra, la quale mi è stata

gratissima. E' vero, che mi seria stato molto più la persona, la quale speravamo dovesse esser più presto di quello voi significasi par la vra, se ben poi con molta humanità, et cortesia la remettete in nro arbitrio, del che n. potemo si n. ringratiarvene grandem.e; Qtunche a noi non para licito discontiarvi tanto quanto mostrati, che ve ne importi certe vre cose lie: havemo ben ultra modo gratissimo, che quando el tempo non sia superfluo lungo, expediti che siano quelli vri negotii vogliati omnino venirvene qua, et conservar non voglio dire la promessa, ma la speranza, che si deste, quando ultimamente fusti quà, di havervi qualche tempo; et in quel mezio pigliarvi quella cura dell' Illmo nostro figliolo che Noi cum tanto afecto vi raccomandassimo, et di che lo Illmo. S.or N.ro, ed Noi non ne potiamo star con magiore desiderio: et in questo proposito a vro contento vi advisiamo come el suo preceptore fino adesso non potria restare di lui più satisfacto, nè cum magiore speranza de reportarvi honore, et cum facilità, secundo che pensiamo habiate anche inteso per sue lre, per il che non ci extenderemo altrimente si non recordarvi, et certificarvi che non siamo mai per mancar del nro bon amo verso di voi, et così ce vi offeriamo di bon core. Belriguardi p.o Junii 1516.

La vra *Duchessa di Ferrara.*

Tergo.

Mag.co Amico Nro Car.mo Joanni Georgio Trissino.

Romae.

No. V.

M. Giovan Giorgio mio Car.mo. Ho ricevuto l'ultima vra la quale per haverme dato scientia di Voi, quel che sommamente desiderava, mi è stata gratissima, posto che molto più mi sarebbe stata la presentia vra. Ma come ho havuto dispiacere, ch' Ella mi sia stata dalli allegati negotii nel vro venire contesa, così havrò caro, che mi sia nel vro ritorno da voi concessa. Alle altre parte de detta vra, et a quanto me ha referto a bocca satisfarà vro Cognato nel riporto vi farà di me, la quale di molto cuore me vi offero, et racco.o.

Di Ferrara el dì XV. di Ottobre MDXVIII.

Tergo. La vra *Duchessa di Ferrara.*

Mag.co Dno. Jo. Georgio Trissino Amico Nro. Carmo.

Lettera del Trissino al Bembo. Dal Segr. del. sig. Panfilo Persico stampato in Venetia, 1620, p. 246.

(*Ital. Ed.* vol. x. p. 195.)

Vedo che la soave e modesta natura di V. S. s' è nondimeno alquanto sopra il dovere commossa dal non haver ottenuto da me la medaglia richiestami; della qual io non son così ingiusto o avaro estimatore, che non conosca quanto più di gran lunga si deva prestar la vostra gratia, e sodisfattione. Ma l'haverla sotto la conditione, ch' io l'ho, da chi n' è più padrone, che non son io, non permette, ch' io possa far con essa quest' acquisto dell' amore di V. S. che comprarci con altro qual si voglia maggior prezzo. Che se la somiglianza, che vi rende questa medaglia della donna amata, v' ha fatto stimar giusto il desiderio d'haverla in vostra balia, perchè non dovete stimar giusto altresì il medesmo rispetto in me di ritenerla, oltre la fede, che m'obbliga a non la separar da me per alcun caso? Duo forti legami amor e fede mi contendono il poter fare a Vostra Signoria questo dono, da' quali mi rendo certo, che non mi vorrà sciorre il giudicio e la bontà di lei che s'ama o prezza in me parte alcuna, che buono sia, deve sopra tutte amare, e prezzar queste, che in lei sono in grado così eccellente. Onde mi persuado, che lasciate adietro le cagioni, che vi par d'havere di querelarvi di me, farete appresso la vostra gentilezza più cortese adito alle mie scuse; ne vi rimarrete d'essercitar sopra di me quell' auttorità, che havete di disporre a vostro piacere, persuadendovi, che maggiore è in me il risentimento di non haver potuto servir Vostra Signoria, che non è stata in lei la noia d'havermi richesto indarno.

NOTES.

Note 1 (page 4).—The coining of money by the Roman pontiffs may be considered as a mark of sovereign and independent authority; but at what precise period they began to exercise this right, is not easily ascertained. Muratori, in his Annali d'Italia, vol. iv. p. 464, informs us, that the popes coined money, in gold, silver, and copper, from the time of Charlemagne (about the year 800), and that the city of Rome had enjoyed that privilege *ab antiquo*. Other writers have assigned an earlier date, which opinion they have founded on a coin of Zacharia, who filled the pontifical chair from the year 740 to 751.—*Vide* Dissertaz. del Conte Giacomo Acami dell' origine ed antichità della Zecca Pontificia, p. 8, ed. Rom. 1752. This subject has given rise to serious controversy even among the firmest adherents to the church. Muratori and Fontanini have embraced different opinions, which they have endeavoured to support in several learned publications, in which the ancient rights of the emperors and the popes to various parts of Italy, are particularly discussed. All collectors, however, agree in commencing their series from Adrian I., created pope in 782, from which time Acami has given a succession of thirty-four coins of different pontiffs, some of which are, however, supposed to have issued from the metropolitan sees of England, for the purpose of paying tribute to Rome.

Note 2 (p. 4).—The donation of Constantine is humorously, but boldly placed by Ariosto, among the trumpery which, being lost on earth, was found by Astolfo stored up in the moon; the prayers of the wicked, the sighs of lovers, the crowns of forgotten sovereigns, and the verses written in praise of great men.—Orl. Fur. cant. 34, st. 80.

Note 3 (p. 4).—The validity of these donations, and particularly those of Pepin, king of France, and of his son Charlemagne, is strongly insisted on by Ammirato, who attempts to shew, that the authority of the popes extended far beyond the limits of Italy; but as he appears not to have distinguished between their temporal and their ecclesiastical power, little reliance is to be placed on his opinion.—Ammir. Discorso come la Chiesa Romana sia cresciuta ne' beni temporali. Opusc. vol. ii. p. 67. Those readers who are inclined to examine more particularly into this subject, may consult the Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum, tom. i. p. 124.

Note 4 (p. 5).—Guicciardini, lib. iv. The passage here referred to, in which the historian has traced with great ability the rise and vicissi-

tudes of the temporal authority of the popes, is omitted in the general editions of his works, and even in that of Torrentino, Flor. 1561, fo., but may be found in those of Stoer, 1636, 1645. Geneva.

NOTE 5 (p. 5).—Count Bossi, in a note on this passage, conceives that the dominions of the pope are too much restricted by it; and observes that it ought also to have included the three Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, over which it formerly exercised a sovereign authority, and which were again restored to it in the last political system of Italy.

NOTE 6 (p. 6).—Bayle, in his Dictionary, art. Leon X., note F, has some observations, rather more fanciful than solid, on this union of spiritual and temporal authority in the same person; which he concludes, by relating the story of a German bishop, who was also a count and baron of the empire, and who having attempted to justify to a peasant the extraordinary pomp which he assumed, by adverting to his temporal dignity, "Yes," replied the rustic, "*but when my lord the count and baron is sent to hell, where will then be my lord the bishop?*"

NOTE 7 (p. 10).—It appears that Giovanni was at the same time a canon of the cathedral of Florence, of Fiesole, and of Arezzo; rector of Carmignano, of Giogoli, of S. Casciano, of S. Giovanni in Valdarno, of S. Piero at Casale, and of S. Marcellino at Cacchiano; prior of Monte Varchi; precentor of S. Antonio in Florence; proposto of Prato; abbot of Monte Cassino, of S. Giovanni of Passignano, of S. Maria of Morimondo, of S. Martino of Fonte-dolce in France, of S. Lorenzo of Coltibuono, of S. Salvadore at Vajano, of S. Bartolommeo at Anghiari, of S. Maria at Monte Piano, of S. Giuliano at Tours, of S. Giusto and S. Clement at Volterra, of S. Stefano of Bologna, of S. Michele in Arezzo, of Chiaravalle at Milan, of the diocese of Pino in Pittavia, and of the Casa Dei at Chiaramonte; and in 1510 he became archbishop of Amalfi.—"Bone Deus," exclaims the good Fabroni, "quot in uno juvene cumulata sacerdotia!"—Fabr. Vita Leon. X. in adnot. p. 245.

NOTE 8 (p. 12).—In the articles or concessions signed by Innocent on his election, he had solemnly promised not to raise any person to the dignity of a cardinal who had not attained thirty years of age, that such promotion should never be made in secret, that he would not create more than one from his own family, that the number should not in the whole exceed twenty-four, and that he would not name any new ones till the college should be reduced to that number.—Burchard, Diarium, ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi, i. 75.

NOTE 9 (p. 14).—This event was communicated to him in a letter from the cardinal of Anjou, yet preserved in the Florentine Archives. It is also adverted to in the Latin verses of Philomusus, who has there, in a spirit of poetic prophecy, foretold the future honours of his patron, which he also lived himself to celebrate.—Carm. Ill. Poet. tom. vii. p. 182.

NOTE 10 (p. 15).—The public thanks of the government of Florence were also transmitted to the pope, for the honour conferred on that city

by the adoption of the cardinal de' Medici into the sacred college. The letter on this occasion was written by Bartolommeo Scala, then chancellor of the republic, and is given in the Collectio veterum aliquot monumentorum, of Bandini.—Arezzo, 1752.

NOTE 11 (p. 15).—Polit. Ep. lib. viii. In the preceding year Politiano had inscribed to the pope his elegant translation of Herodian, in return for which Innocent had not only written to him, but had presented him with 200 pieces of gold. Politiano had also addressed to the pope, soon after his elevation, a fine Sapphic ode.

NOTE 12 (p. 17).—V. L' Altercazione, Capitolo. This, together with other poems of Lorenzo de' Medici, and several of his contemporaries, has been given to the public by Messrs. Nardini and Buonaiuti, in an elegant volume, under the title of "Poesie del Mag. Lorenzo de' Medici, e di Altri Suoi amici e Contemporanei." Londra, 1801, 4to.

NOTE 13 (p. 19).—Pietro Delfino was General of the order of Camaldoli; his Letters were collected and published at Venice in 1524, in folio, and display great vivacity and learning. They are very rare, and have been sold at an extravagant price. He died in 1525.—Bossi, in Tr. vol. i. p. 59.*

NOTE 14 (p. 20).—Ammirato (Opusc. iii. 108) places the birth of Giulio one month, and Machiavelli (Stor. Fior. lib. viii.), several months after the death of his father. It appears, however, from yet more authentic documents, that he was born a year before that event, viz. in 1477; and was consequently two years younger than his cousin, Giovanni de' Medici.—Life of Lorenzo de' Medici. Panvinius, the continuator of Platini, in his life of Clement VII., has followed, in this respect, the erroneous accounts of the Italian historians.

NOTE 15 (p. 23).—One of these letters, preserved in the Florentine Archives, and not before printed, will be found in the Appendix, No. II. As this is probably the earliest production now extant of its illustrious author, and was written in an unpremeditated manner, on his first entrance into public life, it cannot be perused, unadorned as it is, without peculiar interest.

NOTE 16 (p. 27).—On this occasion the Turkish emperor transmitted to the pope *the head of the spear which pierced the side of Jesus Christ.* This relic, according to an ancient chronicle, had been preserved at Constantinople before the capture of that place by the Turks, where it had been concealed by a citizen, from whom it was purchased by the emperor for 70,000 ducats. Some doubts arose among the members of the college as to the authenticity of this relic, it being contended by some, that the true spear was at Nuremberg, and by others, that it was preserved in the Sainte Chapelle at Paris; but Innocent disregarded their objections; and directed that the present should be received in a solemn procession, in which it was carried by the pope himself, on the day of Ascension, inclosed in a case of crystal. He was, however, so fatigued with the labour, and so oppressed by the tumults of the crowd, that he was unable to finish the ceremony. Burchard, Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi,

94. The rage for collecting relics seems at this period to have been at its height. In the official letters of Bartolommeo Scala, as chancellor of the Florentine Republic, we find one addressed to the Grand Turk, requesting his interference with the inhabitants of Ragusa, to induce them to deliver up *the left arm of St. John the Baptist*, which they had intercepted in its way to Florence.—Band. Monument. p. 17.

Note 17 (p. 30).—Pomponius derived his origin from Calabria, and is supposed to have been of illegitimate birth; but his parentage, and even his real name, have escaped the researches of his admirers. The appellation of Julius Pomponius Lætus, he doubtless assumed as an academical or scholastic distinction; but the name of Lætus was sometimes exchanged for that of Fortunatus or Infortunatus, as the circumstances of his situation seemed to require: and Vossius supposes that Julius Pomponius Sabinus is no other than the same person. (De Histor. Latinis, lib. iii. p. 615.) From the letters of Politiano, it appears, that a frequent communication subsisted between these two eminent scholars, and that Pomponius was accustomed to furnish his learned friend with such curious monuments of antiquity as his researches supplied. We also learn from Crinitus, that Pomponius transmitted to Lorenzo de' Medici an antique marble, which exhibited the order of the months of the year, and of the Roman calendar; and the frequent commemoration of the family of the Medici, in the letters of Pomponius, manifests the good understanding that subisted between them, which was probably increased by the arrival of the cardinal in Rome. The works of Pomponius are very numerous, and many of them have frequently been reprinted; but his most useful production is his description of the antiquities of Rome. Erasmus commends the unaffected elegance of his style. "Pomponius Lætus, elegantiâ Romanâ contentus, nihil affectavit ultra." Bartolommeo Martiano (Diss. Voss. ii. 242) has justly appreciated the merits of this early scholar, whom he ranks with Tortelli and Blondo. To Pomponius we are also indebted for the earliest editions of several of the Roman Classics, and among others, Terentius Varro, Ven. 1474, fo.; Silius Italicus, Romæ. 1471, fo.; Quintus Curtius, Romæ, per Georgium Laver, absque anni nota; Columella, published with the Rei Rusticæ Scriptores, Bonon. 1494, where he styles himself Pomponius Fortunatus, in consequence of which he is cited by the bibliographer De Bure, as a distinct author.—Bibliogr. Instr. No. 1,527. To these editions of the Roman authors published by Pomponius, Count Bossi has added that of Pompejus Festus, of which he possessed an edition without date, marked at the close with the words "Finis Pompeii Festi quem Pomponius correxit. Hans. Glim." —Ital. Tr. vol. xii. p. 208.

Note 18 (p. 30).—This illustrious scholar was born at San Gemignano, of a noble family, in the year 1437. On associating himself with Pomponius in the Roman academy, he relinquished his family name, and adopted that of Callimachus, which he probably thought expressed in Greek the same idea as Buonaccorsi in Italian. His addition of Experiens is conjectured by Zeno to have arisen from the vicissitudes which he met with in life; but this is to suppose, that he did not assume it till after those vicissitudes had taken place. It is more probable that he

merely meant to infer, that all true knowledge must be founded on experience. His flight to Poland is thus adverted to by Cantilicio, a contemporary poet, and prelate of the church. It must be premised, that the name of Paul II. was Pietro Barbo.

> " Callimachus, Barbos fugiens ex urbe furores,
> Barbara quæ fuerant regna, Latina facit."

His history of the affairs of Hungary, which he wrote at the instance of the great Mattia Corvino, is preferred by Jovius to any historical work which had appeared since the days of Tacitus.—Voss. de Hist. Lat. lib. iii. p. 619. Count Bossi, of Milan, possessed a MS. on vellum, of Latin epigrams of this author; some of which have not been printed.—Ital. Tr. vol. i. p. 85. Callimachus died at Cracow, in the year 1496.

Note 19 (p. 30).—The dedicatory epistle is as honourable to the talents of the author, as to the character of the patron. The work itself met with great applause; and the friends of Cortes advised him to publish it; notwithstanding which it remained in MS. till the year 1734, when it was given to the public by Manni, from a copy found by Alex. Politi, at S. Gemignano. Some account of another work by Cortese, " In Sententias," or on the doctrine of faith, is given by Mr. Henke in a note on this passage, in which he highly appreciates that work. *Vide* Germ. Tr. vol. i. p. 55.

Note 20 (p. 30).—Among these are his treatise " De Cardinalatu," and several theological works.—Tirab. Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vi. par. 1, p. 85, 232. In another department of letters, he was, however, excelled by his brother Alessandro, who was one of the most elegant Latin poets of that period, as appears by his heroic poem, entitled " Laudes bellicæ Mathiæ Corvini Hungariæ regis."—Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital. iii. 157. From this piece it appears, that Alessandro had followed the fortunes of this great prince, who was not excelled in his love of literature by any monarch of his time.

Note 21 (p. 31).—The works of Serafino were often reprinted in the early part of the sixteenth century. The first edition is that of Rome, 1503; but that of the Giunti, 1516, is the most beautiful and correct.

Note 22 (p. 31).—On entering the Neapolitan academy, Pontano changed his baptismal name of Giovanni for Jovianus. This custom is pleasantly ridiculed by Ariosto, in his sixth satire, inscribed to Pietro Bembo. We are informed by Count Bossi (Ital. Tr. vol. i. p. 89) that the Academia Pontaniana still exists at Naples, and numbers amongst its members many persons eminent in science and literature.

Note 23 (p. 33).—This is a kind of drama, in which a traveller, an innkeeper, and a courier, are introduced, rejoicing in the restoration of peace, which the courier attributes to the exertions of Pontano. The blessings of peace are then chanted by a chorus of priests, after which Altilio, Pardo, and Caritco, three of his most intimate friends, lament together the insanity of Pontano; who has of late devoted all his time to the feeding and decorating an ass. Pontano soon afterwards appears, accompanied by his gardener, with whom he holds a long and serious conversation on the grafting of

trees, and the improvement of his garden. A boy then brings in his favourite ass, and Pontano determines to wash and comb him; but beginning at the tail, is molested by a very natural circumstance. He then undertakes to perform that operation on the head; when, in return for his kindness, the stupid animal seizes and bites him by the hand, and Pontano finds, too late, *that they who attempt to wash the face of an ass, lose both their soap and their labour.* This piece has been said to refer to the duke of Calabria, who, as Pontano thought, did not sufficiently repay the services which he had performed, in effecting a peace with the pope, in the year 1486; but if Pontano was capable of this gross abuse of the son of his great patron and benefactor, whom he constantly celebrated with the most open flattery, he deserves as much censure for the malevolence of his purpose, as for the imbecility of its execution.

NOTE 24 (p. 34.)—The political and literary labours of Pontano, and the chief circumstances of his public and private life, are commemorated in a beautiful elegiac poem of his friend Sanazzaro.—Eleg. lib. i. el. 9.

NOTE 25 (p. 34).—By a singular coincidence, Sanazzaro was born on the very day devoted to that saint, being the 28th day of July. Of the opulence, the rank, and the achievements of his ancestors, he has left in his writings many memorials. From these it appears, that his family was originally of Spain, and that Niccolo, one of his ancestors, followed Carlo Durazzo in a high military capacity, when he obtained possession of the kingdom of Naples. His services were repaid by the princely reward of the castle of Mondragone, and an extensive territory in the province of Lucania, which were enjoyed by Giacopo, his son, the grandfather of the poet, till he was deprived of them by his opposition to the dissolute conduct, and oppressive measures, of Joanna, the sister and successor of Ladislaus, king of Naples. From that period the possessions of his family were considered as inferior to their rank; and, although they still enjoyed an honourable independence, their reduced state, and lost honours, are a frequent subject of the poet's complaint.—Arcadia, prosa 7; Crispo, vita di San. p. 2.

NOTE 26 (p. 35).—The plan of this piece is extremely simple. Mahomet first appears lamenting his defeat, and flying before the Christian army; after which, Faith and Joy successively enter the stage, in appropriate habiliments, and exult in his defeat, and the representation terminates with a masquerade and a dance. This "Farsa," as it appears to have been entitled by the author, remained in MS. till the year 1719, when it was published at Naples, and has since been usually annexed to the Italian writings of Sanazzaro.

NOTE 27 (p. 35).—On this passage Count Bossi has remarked, that I seem to have forgotten the divine productions of Dante and Petrarca; but I am here speaking of what may be called the second and effective revival of Italian literature, and I presume it will be so understood by the reader.

NOTE 28 (p. 37).—Pontano had himself not only commented on the works of Catullus, as appears by an epigram of Sanazzaro, "De emendationc Catulli, ad Jovianum;" but had adopted and amplified the idea of

Politiano in an epigram, which he entitles "Cui donaturus sit suam columbam."—Op. Poet. i. 232.

NOTE 29 (p. 38).—It is to be regretted, that the Neapolitan historians have supplied us with little more than the names of those eminent men, who at this early period did so much honour to the literature of their country; and even these lists are not correct, as they contain the names of several persons who flourished at a later period. We are indeed informed by Apostolo Zeno (Disser. Voss. cap. 78), that Bernardo Cristoforo, a learned Neapolitan, had written the history of this early institution, in a work entitled "Academia Pontani, sive vitæ illustrium virorum, qui cum Jo. Joviano Pontano Neapoli floruêre;" but the manuscript has been irrecoverably lost. I cannot, however, pass over these illustrious names, without giving such particulars respecting them as have fallen in my way.

NOTE 30 (p. 39).—The principal work of Belisario consists of his treatises "De Venatione, et de Aucupio; de Re Militari et singulari Certamine; de instituendis Principum Liberis, Paraphrasis in Economica Aristotelis." First printed at Naples, 1519, fo., afterwards at Basil, 1578, 8vo. Sanazzaro, in one of his Epigrams, lib. ii. 38, "De Lauro, a Neritinorum ducem," has celebrated his munificence in re-establishing, in his city of Nardo, the academy Del Lauro.

NOTE 31 (p. 39).—On the descent of Charles VIII. into Naples, the duke of Atri, being suspected of having favoured the cause of the French, was deprived, by his sovereign, of the fee of Comersano, from which he derived his title of count, which was conferred on his brother Belisario; but no sooner had these commotions subsided, than Belisario voluntarily relinquished his new possessions in favour of his brother, to whom they were restored by the king; and Belisario was created count, and afterwards duke of Nardi.—Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Italia, i. 120.

NOTE 32 (p. 40).—In one of his poems, of which only a fragment remains, Sanazzaro solicits the favour of his friend; and in celebrating the day of his nativity, he has the following passage:—

"Adde tuos, Puderice, sales; adde inclyta patris
Eloquia; adde animo tot bona parta tuo."—Sanaz. Eleg. lib. ii. el. 2.

Which, however, it must be observed, is addressed to Alberico, the son of Francesco, of whom Pontano relates the following anecdote: De Sermone, lib. iv. p. 231: "Garriebat quispiam, nostra in porticu, quem ferre Albericus Pudericus Francisci nostri filius cum non posset, nullo dato responso, manu sublata, monuit, nasum ut emungerit; quo e signo mirificus inter astantes exortus est risus."

NOTE 33 (p. 41).—The "Geniales Dies" were first published at Naples in 1522. In the first chapter of the second book is an interesting account of the manner in which Sanazzaro was accustomed to entertain his literary friends.

NOTE 34 (p. 41).—Pontan. Hendec. pp. 189, 213, Epigr. 233; some of which rival Catullus, both in elegance and indecency. That Piero was

distinguished by his own writings, appears from the beautiful and affectionate lines of Sanazzaro, on his death.—Epigr. lib. ii. 15. He is also enumerated by the poet among his particular friends, and celebrated for his wit and vivacity:

"Nec Minus et Musæ repetens monimenta jocosæ
Compater, argutos ingerat ore sales."—Sanaz. Eleg. lib. i. el. 11.

Pontano dedicated to him a monument in his chapel at Naples, with the following inscription:

"Petro Compatri, viro officiosissimo
Pontanus posuit, constantem ob amicitiam."

Note 35 (p. 41).—Poet ætres elegantissimi; scilicet, Michael Marullus, Hieronymus Angerianus, et Johannes Secundus. Paris, 1582. Many of his works are also inserted in the Carmina illustr. Poet. Italorum.

Note 36 (p. 41).—A favourable specimen of his writings is given in the "Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital." ii. 427. One of the Elegies of Pontano is addressed "Ad Hieronymum Borgium, poetam elegantissimum" (Amores, p. 129); from which we learn, that the family of Borgia was originally of Spain, and that his ancestors, having visited Italy, on a warlike expedition, had there taken up their abode.

Note 37 (p. 41).—This Epithalamium is published in the "Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital." i. 129. It is also printed, with a few other pieces of the same author, at the close of the works of Sanazzaro, by Comino, Patav. 1731, 4to. where numerous testimonies are collected of the merits of Altilius. Some of these pieces had, however, before been printed with the works of Sanazzaro, Daniel Cereti, and the brothers of the Amalthei, illustrated by the notes of Peter Vlamingii, Amst. 1728, in one vol. 8vo., which may be united with the variorum editions of the classics. The Epithalamium was translated into Italian by Giovanni Battista Carminati, a Venetian nobleman; and published by Comino, in the year 1730, after the death of the translator.—Quadrio. ii. 587.

Note 38 (p. 42).—Galateo is said to have indicated the possibility of the navigation to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, in his treatise, "De situ Elementorum," published in 1501, but written some years prior to that period.—Tirab. vi. 1. 166. In his moral writings, he combated, with sound reason, the prevailing notions of supernatural agency.—Tirab. vi. 1, 296. He also illustrated the topography of his native country with accurate maps and descriptions.—Giovio, Iscritt. 211. Galateo is not only celebrated, in the works of the poets of the time, for his great acquirements and amiable qualities, but was himself also a poet of considerable merit.

Note 39 (p. 42). His works were printed at Rome, in 1503, under the title of "Opuscula Elysii Calentii, Poetæ clarissimi," &c. This volume is extremely rare; having, as it is supposed, been suppressed, although sanctioned by a privilege from the court of Rome.—*Vide* De Bure, 2892. This author has obtained a place among the unfortunate sons of literature, whom Tollius has enumerated in his Appendix to Valerianus, p. 11. It appears, however, that his misfortunes were occa-

sioned by his amorous propensities, which engrossed both his talents and his time.

NOTE 40 (p. 42).—The Epigrams of Gravina are preferred by Sanazzaro to those of all his contemporaries. His poems were printed at Naples, in 1532, 4to. A few of them are also inserted in the "Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital." v. 366. Among the Hendecasyllabi of Pontano is an invitation to Gravina, to partake with him the voluptuous retreat of Baja. —Pont. Op. p. 208.

NOTE 41 (p. 42).—A disciple of Mariano Genazzano, and said by Giovio to have far excelled his master in learning and eloquence.—Iscrit. 161. In his youth he cultivated Italian poetry, and his Stanze, entitled "Caccia de Amore," evince considerable poetical talents. They have often been printed, particularly with the works of Girolamo Benivieni, Ven. 1526, and with sundry poems of Benivieni and Bojardo, Ven. 1537.

NOTE 42 (p. 42).—The poems of Cotta are printed in the scarce volume of the "Carmina v. illustrium Poetarum, scilicet, Petri Bembi, And. Naugerii, Balth. Castilioni, Joannis Cottæ, et M. Ant. Flaminii," Ven. Valgrisi, 1548, 8vo. Some of them also appear in the "Carm. illustr. Poet. Ital." iii. 490, and in other collections.

NOTE 43 (p. 42).—Probably the father of the poet Johannes Secundus, and his two learned brothers, Nicolas and Hadrian Marius, whose works were published together at Leyden, by Vulcanius, ap. Elz. 1612.

NOTE 44 (p. 42).—A few scattered productions of Pardo appear in the works of Pontano and Sanazzaro; which shew that he had imbibed the same elegance of Latin composition that distinguished the other members of the Neapolitan academy. Caritco denominates him

"Pardo insigne, e chiaro,
Per germino idioma al mondo altero."—Contra i malevoli.

NOTE 45 (p. 42).—His works were published at Florence, 1497, under the title of "Hymni et Epigrammata Marulli." 4to. The commendations bestowed upon him by the younger Beroaldo are highly honourable both to the Greek and Italian, whose countrymen were too often jealous of the reputation of the Eastern fugitives.—Beroald. Ep. ad Herm. Bentivolium, in op. Codri Urcei, p. 285.

NOTE 46 (p. 42).—To this enumeration of the Neapolitan poets, at the close of the fifteenth century, I must, however, be allowed to add the name of Fillenio Gallo, of Montesano; of whose writings a MS. copy, of this period, is in my possession. Paullo Giovio, who, with a laudable curiosity, collected the portraits of many of the eminent men of his own, and preceding times, enumerates, at the close of the first book of his Elogii, the names of several distinguished persons, of whom he had already obtained portraits, and whose characters he intended for his second book—"che essendo ancora in vita, godono l'eccelsa gloria de' lor fecondi ingegni." Among these he enumerates Phylandro Gallo, who may, perhaps, be presumed to be the same person who is above, and in his own writings, called Fillenio. With the exception of this doubtful

reference, I find no account of this author in any of the records of Italian literature. That he lived towards the close of the fifteenth century, abundantly appears from his writings; which consist of Eclogues, Sonnets, Sestini, and other lyric compositions. His style approaches nearer to that of Serafino d'Aquila than any other author.

Note 47 (p. 43).—We learn from a Latin elegy of Battista Guarino, that the representation of this piece in the year 1486 attracted the attention, and excited the wonder, of all Italy. After describing the splendid preparations made for that purpose by the duke, he adverts to the great concourse of people which it induced to visit Ferrara. Pandolfo Collenucio of Pesaro, who excelled not only as a professor of the civil law, but in other departments of literature, as appears from the correspondence between him and Politiano (Pol. Ep. lib. vii. ep. 32, 35), produced two dramatic pieces for the theatre of Ferrara. The "Anfitrione," printed at Venice, 1530, and "Joseph," in 1564. Girolamo Berardo, of Ferrara, the Count Matteo Maria Boiardo, and Battista Guarino, also exerted their talents on this occasion. *Vide* Tirab. vi. 2, 187.

Note 48 (p. 44).—The scholars of the fifteenth century thought it as necessary to have an adversary, on whom they might lavish their abuse, as a mistress, to whom they might address their amorous effusions. The satirical talents of Tito are directed against some person, whom he denominates Gorellus, and who, if we may credit the poet,—

> "Civilibus armis
> Expulsus patria, jam quatuor exulat annos,
> Damnatus Romæ furti, se carcere fracto
> Eripuisse cruci fertur, Senamque profectus,
> Dum cauti, atque manu prompti Lenonis, amicam
> Pollicitus maria ac montes, abducere tentat,
> Turpiter amisit, truncatis naribus, aures."

He afterwards enters into a justification of his public conduct. *Vide* Serm. ad. Bonav. Pistophilum, Op. 142.

Note 49 (p. 45).—In particular, he held the chief command for several years, at Reggio, where he died on the twentieth day of February, 1494: as appears by a MS. chronicle of his contemporary, Bernardino de' Zambotti, cited by Mazzuchelli. Scrittori d'Ital. v. 1438.

Note 50 (p. 45).—The "Orlando Innamorata" was first printed in Scandiano, per Pellegrino Pasquali, ad istanza del conte Camillo Boiardo, son of the author, about the year 1495, and afterwards in Venice, about the year 1500; which latter De Bure erroneously cites as the first edition, Bib. Instr. No. 3377. The labours of Boiardo had terminated at the ninth canto of the third book, from which period it was continued by Niccolo degli Agostini; and of this joint production numerous editions have been published.

Note 51 (p. 45).—Besides the *rifacciamento* of this poem by Berni, of which the best editions are those of Calvo, Milan, 1542, and the Giunti, Venice, 1545, the poem was corrected and altered by Lodovico Domi-

nichi, and published at Venice, by Girolamo Scotto, in 1545, and several times afterwards.

NOTE 52 (p. 45).—Printed at Reggio, per Maestro Francesco Mazolo, in 1499, and at Venice, per Sessa, in 1501, 4to. "Rarissime sono amendue queste edizioni," says Mazzuchelli, v. 1443.—Besides this volume, Boiardo is the author of "Cinque Capitoli in terza rima sopra il Timore, la Gelosia, la Speranza, l'Amore ed il Trionfo del vano mondo;" which have been frequently printed, with other detached poems by Benivieni and the cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, of which editions it may be sufficient to cite that of Venice, by Nicolo d'Aristotele, detto Zoppino, 1537.

NOTE 53 (p. 45).—First printed without note of date, or place, afterwards in Scandiano, 1500, Venice, 1504, &c. "Questa Commedia," says Mazzuchelli, "che è in terza rima, divisa in cinque atti, è degna di stima per quanto portava quel secolo; ed ha poi un pregio distinto, cioè, d'essere considerata la più antica delle Commedie Italiane, comechè il Crescimbeni la ponga piuttosto nella specie delle Farse."—Scrittori d'Italia, v. 1443.

NOTE 54 (p. 46).—His father Niccolò di Rinaldo Ariosto, was a nobleman of Ferrara. In a passport granted to him in the year 1471, by Lodovico Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, he is honoured with the title of Count, and denominated the friend of the marquis.—Tirab. vii. par iii. 100. Lodovico was born in the year 1474, at the castle of Reggio, of which place his father was governor.

NOTE 55 (p. 46).—"In a period of near three thousand years," says Gibbon, adverting to the works of Ariosto and Tasso, in his Antiquities of the House of Brunswick, "five great epic poets have arisen in the world; and it is a singular prerogative, that two of the five should be claimed as their own, by a short age, and a petty state."

NOTE 56 (p. 47).—Zeno, note al Fontanini, i. 259, where he conjectures, that this work was written about the time of the descent of Charles VIII. to the conquest of Naples, in 1494. It is entitled "Libro d'arme e d'amore, cognominato Mambriano, di Francesco Cieco da Ferrara. Ferrariæ, par Joannem Baciochum Mondenum, 20 Octobris, 1509," 4to.

NOTE 57 (p. 47).—Sabellicus, inviting his poetical contemporaries to celebrate the nativity of the Virgin, addresses himself to Cosmico—

"Nec decantati toties remorentur amores
Te, mihi sed cultam, Cosmice, tende chelyn."

He is also enumerated by Platina, in his treatise, "De honesta Voluptate," or Art of Cookery, among his temperate friends, lib. v. cap. 1.

NOTE 58 (p. 49).—The union of the duke and duchess of Urbino was not crowned with the expected fruits of marriage, the reasons of which are detailed at great length by Bembo, in Op. vol. iv. p. 299.

NOTE 59 (p. 50).—This poem was first printed by Meuschenius, in the beginning of the third volume of his collection, entitled "Vitæ sum-

morum dignitate et eruditione virorum." Coburg, 1738. In the preface, the editor observes, that the poem is written "elegantiori modo, quam a sua adhuc inculta ætate vix aliquis expectare poterat."—Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Ital. ii. 1138. Tirab. vi. 2, 230.

NOTE 60 (p. 50).—It is generally believed that Battista was of illegitimate birth; but the attention paid by his father, Pietro Spagnuolo, to his improvement, enabled him not only to make an early and considerable proficiency in polite literature, but to arrive at the rank of general of his order. Respecting the circumstances of his birth, different opinions have, however, been entertained, which the reader will find fully stated in the "Menagiana," vol. i. p. 273.

NOTE 61 (p. 51).—Mr. Henke has, however, in a note on this passage (Germ. Tr. vol. i. p. 106), pointed out some strongly expressed and earnest denunciations of the corruptions of the Roman church, and particularly of the administration of the pontiffs Innocent VIII. and Alexander VI.

NOTE 62 (p. 53).—Vasari in Vita di Lionardo. Borghini, il Riposo, 368, *et seq.* Notwithstanding the assertions of the above authors, and that of M. Mariette in later times, "Lettere sulla Pittura," &c. vol. ii. let. 84, that Lionardo left the head of Christ in an unfinished state, Richardson assures us, that their information is false, and that such part of the face as yet remains entire, is highly finished.—Traité de la Peinture, &c. vol. iii. The account given by Richardson is, in like manner, accused of being grossly incorrect, by the author of a modern description of Italy, in 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1781. As it can scarcely be imagined, that any of these authors would be guilty of wilful misrepresentation on a subject of such a nature, and in which their testimony would be always exposed to contradiction, may we not reasonably suppose that, according to the united testimony of all the elder writers, the head was left unfinished; but that in the course of the repairs which the picture has undergone, some sacrilegious hand has dared to trace those features, from which the modest genius of Lionardo shrunk in despair? This suggestion appears highly probable, from the notes on the "Lettere sulla Pittura," &c. vol. ii. p. 183. But further information on this subject may be derived from the work of the Cav. Bossi "Sul Cenacolo," the Mem. for the Life of Lionardo, by the Cav. Amoretti, and the "Discorso sulla erudizione degli Artisti," by Count Bossi, the translator of the present work.

NOTE 63 (p. 54).—A native of Piacenza, who, having adopted a military life, held a respectable rank under the celebrated Venetian general, Bartolommeo Coglioni, of whom he has left a life, written in Latin, and published by Burman: but a great part of his time was passed at Milan, where he was highly favoured by the family of Sforza. His works, both in Italian and Latin, in verse and in prose, are very numerous, and his poem, "De re Militari," in nine books, in terza rima, has frequently been printed. His sonnets and lyric pieces are, however, considered as the most valuable of his works, and are acknowledged by Quadrio to be among the best in the Italian language. In the latter part of his life he quitted the court of Milan for that of Ferrara, where he terminated his

days; having enjoyed the patronage of the duchess Lucrezia Borgia, of whom he makes frequent and honourable mention in his works.—Cornazzano, de re Militari. Ven. 1526. Sonetti e Canz. Ven. 1508. Tiraboschi, vi. par. ii. p. 160.

NOTE 64 (p. 54).—Author of an Italian poem in ottava rima, entitled, "Il Viridario," printed at Bologna, 1513, and of several other works. He also distinguished himself by his knowledge of Greek and Latin, his proficiency in music, and his acquaintance with medals, statues, and other monuments of antiquity, of which he had formed a large collection. He died in 1538, at 72 years of age; but his poetry, of which specimens appear in sundry collections, has all the characteristic rusticity of the 15th century, when, says Crescimbeni, "ando spargendo gemme tra'l fango."

NOTE 65 (p. 54).—A nobleman of Milan, who married Cecilia, the daughter of the celebrated Cecco Simoneta, and died at 38 years of age, in 1499. His sonnets and other verses were published at Milan in 1493, and obtained him such reputation, that he was considered, for a time, as not inferior to Petrarca; but posterity has formed a different judgment. —Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 253.

NOTE 66 (p. 54).—Benedetto da Cingoli, and Vincenzo Calmeta, are enumerated by Quadrio (ii. 211) among the poets who at this time honoured the city of Milan by their residence, and whose verses are found in the collections of the times. The works of the former were also collected and published with those of his brother, Gabriello, at Rome, in 1503.—Tirab. vi. par. ii. p. 159. And of the latter, Count Bossi has informed us, that he possesses a fine MS. of Ovid, "de Arte Amandi," translated into terza rima, and inscribed to Lodovica Sforza, by Vincenzio Calmeta Collo; which contains many fine passages, and has never been printed.—Ital. Tran. vol. i. p. 148.

NOTE 67 (p. 54).—Called also Fulgoso and Campofregoso. From his love of solitude, he also assumed the name of Phileremo. His chief residence was at the court of Milan, which he quitted on the expulsion of Lodovico Sforza, and retired to his villa at Colterano. His "Cerva Biancha" is an Italian poem of considerable extent, written with great facility, and occasionally interspersed with beautiful description, and genuine poetry. For his adoption of the ottava rima he apologizes by the example of Lorenzo de' Medici, and Agnolo Politiano. This poem has been several times reprinted; particularly at Venice, 1521, 1525. The first of these editions is entitled "Opera nova del magnifico Cavaliero Messer Antonio Phileremo Fregoso, intitulata CERVA BIANCHA." His "Dialogo di Fortuna" consists of 18 capitoli, in terza rima, Ven. 1531. Besides these, he is also the author of another poem, "Il riso di Democrito, e il pianto d'Eraclito," in 30 capitoli; but this work has hitherto eluded my researches.

NOTE 68 (p. 54).—Respecting Giacopo Antiquario there was published at Perugia, in 1813, by Sig. Vermiglioli, a volume of learned researches, which contains valuable memorials of the literary history of the age, from

which count Bossi has given some additional notices of Antiquario and his friends. *Vide* Ital. Tr. vol i. pp. 149, 257.

NOTE 69 (p. 54).—His chronicle of the principal events, from the earliest records to his own times, is of occasional use, particularly with respect to the affairs of Milan. This work was printed at Milan in 1492, by Antonio Zaroti, and is dedicated to the reigning duke Giovan-Galeazzo; not however without great commendations of Lodovico, whose loyalty and fidelity the author particularly celebrates.

NOTE 70 (p. 54).—He was a native of Novara, and a descendant of the noble family of Avvenada. His vocabulary of the Latin tongue, printed in folio at Milan, in 1483, and afterwards at Venice, 1488, may be considered as one of the first attempts in modern times to facilitate the study of that language, and displays an intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancients, which are diligently cited as authorities throughout the work. To the earliest edition is prefixed a copy of Latin verses addressed to Lodovico Sforza, and towards the close are several poems of the same author, both Italian and Latin. The following colophon concludes the book: —

"Opus Mediolani impressum per Leonardum Pachel et Ulldericum Sinczenceler, de Alemannia Socios, Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXXXIII. pridie nonas Januarias."

NOTE 71 (p. 55).—Codrus survived both his patron and his pupil, the latter of whom was deprived of his territories by Girolamo Riario, in the year 1480, after his family had possessed them upwards of 150 years.

NOTE 72 (p. 56). — Jovius absurdly enough informs us, that Piero derived his name from the curled locks of his father, "dall' intorta e inanellata capillatura del padre;" but from whatever cause the family appellation might originally arise, it was of much greater antiquity than Jovius supposed. The Ricci being called by Negri, "Famiglia antichissima e nobilissima." The latter author, however, with no less absurdity than Jovius, adds, that Crinitus was, on account of his own curled locks ("arriciata bionda sua Capigliera") called "Pietro di crispa chioma," which he transformed into the Latin name of Crinitus. But it is apparent that this name is only his family appellation latinized.

NOTE 73 (p. 58).—He was the first who pointed out the mistake of the learned respecting the supposititious elegies of Cornelius Gallus; a subject which has given rise to great diversity of opinion. *Vide* Menagiana, tom. i. p. 336.

NOTE 74 (p. 59).—On this passage Count Bossi has found occasion to remark, that notwithstanding the notice I have taken of the state of literature, and its professors in Italy, at the close of the fifteenth century, I have omitted many distinguished names, even of those who have figured upon the *political* theatre of the times; an omission which he has undertaken in some degree to supply, by citing the names of a number of literary characters as not being particularly noticed in my work.—*Vide* Ital. Tran. vol. i. p. 260, vol. xii. p. 211. For this attention my best acknowledgments

are due; but, at the same time, I must be permitted to remark, that as I had only proposed to write the life of an individual, and not a general history of literature, I did not conceive myself justified in entering into that subject further than was necessary to shew the literary state and character of the age, at the time that Leo X., then the cardinal de' Medici, first began to take an active part in it; and in which I fear it will be thought I have rather exceeded than fallen short of the object I had in view. As to the rest, I may observe that some of the persons mentioned by Count Bozzi *are* noticed in my work; that others are omitted, because they belong to a former period, and had been particularly distinguished in my Life of Lorenzo de' Medici; and that if these two classes were deducted, the remainder would be reduced to a small amount; amongst which, however, are some which might justly claim a place in the records of literature, and which demonstrate the intimate acquaintance of Count Bossi with this subject. I shall only add, that the precious manuscript which Count Bossi mentions, containing a collection of Italian poets of the fifteenth century, by Felice Feliciano, in which are found the works of several authors not mentioned by Tiraboschi, and which MS. formerly belonged to Count Bossi, now forms a part of the MS. library at Holkham.

NOTE 75 (p. 59).—In the scarce edition of the "Thesaurus Cornucopiæ" of Varino Camerti, printed by Aldo in 1496, he styles himself "Aldus Manutius Bassianus Romanus."

NOTE 76 (p. 59).—This grammarian lived in the early part of the thirteenth century. His work is written in barbarous Latin verse, which the pupils were compelled to repeat by memory. Manni has given a specimen of this pedantic but once celebrated production.

NOTE 77 (p. 59).—The subsequent commotions of Italy, in which Alberto acted an important part, have probably deprived the world of the fruits of his literary studies. Such at least is the inference which arises from a passage, in the dedication to him of the Aldine edition of Lucretius, at the time when he was engaged as the Imperial envoy at the court of Rome.

NOTE 78 (p. 61).—Maittaire conjectures that he was employed in these preparations four or five years; but from the preface of Aldus to the "Thesaurus Cornucopiæ" of Varino Camerti, printed in 1496, it appears that he had been occupied in this undertaking from the year 1489.

NOTE 79 (p. 62).—Mr. Henke (in Germ. Tr. vol. i. p. 127) has expressed an opinion, that in estimating the merits of Aldo, I have permitted my partiality for him to prevail over justice, and have reckoned too little upon the great encouragement he received from many rich and liberal patrons of literature, and particularly from the pontiffs, Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. That Aldo could have accomplished his great object without the assistance of many eminent men and distinguished scholars, it would be absurd to suppose; but it is precisely in this respect that his merits are most apparent. In establishing his press, and forming

his academy at Venice, he drew together almost all that was liberal and learned in Italy, and thereby effected an object to the accomplishment of which his own personal exertions would have been totally inadequate. This circumstance, therefore, instead of detracting from, may be considered as the crown of his merits.

NOTE 80 (p. 66).—These children were, however, illegitimate, as appears from the evidence of Burchard, who denominates Francesco Cibò—"Filius Papæ, etiam bastardus, prout Domina Theodorina."—Burchard —Diar. ap. Notices des MSS. du Roi, i. 93. Nor was incontinency the only crime of this pontiff, if we may judge from the epigram of Marullus.

NOTE 81 (p. 67).—Of these, the following may serve as a sufficient specimen:—

"Cæsare magna fuit, nunc Roma est maxima, Sextus
Regnat Alexander; ille vir, iste deus."

"Alexandro invictissimo, Alexandro pientissimo, Alexandro magnificentissimo, Alexandro in omnibus maximo, honor et gratia."

"Scit venisse suum, patria grata, Jovem."

Other instances of preposterous adulation may be found in Corio, par. vii. p. 888, &c. If, however, all the enormities recorded of him be true, one of the Roman poets of antiquity would have furnished him with a much more appropriate motto, Ovid. Met. lib. iv. v. 499.

NOTE 82 (p. 69).—From the ancient chronicle of Donato Bossi, printed at Milan, 1492, it appears, that the Milanese government at this time included the cities and districts of Milan, Cremona, Parma, Pavia, Como, Lodi, Piacenza, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Bobbio, Savona, Albingano, Vintimiglia, and the whole territory of the Genoese.

NOTE 83 (p. 69).—It appears, however, from Summonte, that Lodovico had pretended a legal right to the sovereignty, on the plea, that Galeazzo, the father of the young duke, was born before the time that his father Francesco had obtained the dominion of Milan; whereas Lodovico was the eldest son born after that acquisition, and consequently, as he asserted, entitled to the succession.—Summonte, Storia di Napoli, vol. iii. p. 497. It is, however, remarkable, that Donato Bossi, in his chronicle, printed in 1492, and dedicated to Gian-Galeazzo, expressly commends the fidelity and loyalty of Lodovico to his sovereign.

NOTE 84 (p. 74).—Commines gives us to understand, that Charles was not displeased at the death of his son, at three years of age, because he was, "bel enfant, audacieux en parole, et ne craignoit point les choses que les autres enfans sont accoutumés à craindre," and the king, it seems, was therefore afraid, that if the child lived, he might diminish his consequence or endanger his authority; "car le roi ne fut jamais que petit homme de corps, et peu étendu; mais étoit si bon, qu'il n'est pas possible de voir meilleure créature."—Commines, lib. viii. p. 248.

NOTE 85 (p. 75).—Should the reader wish for more particular information respecting the claims of the contending parties to the crown of

Naples, he may peruse with great advantage the acute and learned observations of Gibbon on this subject, published in the second volume of his miscellaneous works, under the title of "Critical Researches concerning the title of Charles VIII. to the Crown of Naples."

NOTE 86 (p. 78).—This expedition was the subject of several publications in France, some of which are cited by M. Foncemagne, in his "Ecclaircissemens historiques sur quelques Circonstances du voyage de Charles VIII. en Italie." *Vide* Mém. de l'Académie des Inscrip. tom. xvii. p. 539.

NOTE 87 (p. 84).—Although Guicciardini, Rucellai, and other contemporary authors, expressly assert that Charles VIII. was incited by Alexander VI. to attempt the conquest of Naples, in which they have been implicitly followed by subsequent writers, I have not ventured to adopt their representations in my narrative; I. Because Commines, who has related, at great length, the motives by which Charles VIII. was induced to this undertaking, adverts not, in the most distant manner, to any invitation from the pope on that subject; on the contrary, he attributes the determination of the king solely to the persuasions of Lodovico Sforza, and informs us, that he sent Perron de Basche as his ambassador to Rome, apparently to try the disposition of the pontiff, whom he erroneously names Innocent.—*Vide* Mémoires, liv. vii. chap. 2. II. In the letter from Lodovico Sforza to Charles VIII. as given by Corio, p. 891, the pope is not even mentioned, although several other sovereigns are specified as being favourable to the intended enterprise. III. In the apostolic brief issued by Alexander, and inserted by the same author in his History, we discover no reason to infer that the pope had, at any previous time, entertained a different opinion from that which he there professes, and which is decidedly adverse to the interference of the king in the concerns of Italy. Guicciardini, actuated perhaps by his abhorrence of Alexander VI., has not discussed this subject with his usual accuracy; and the reader finds it difficult to discover, even in his copious narrative, the real predisposing causes of an enterprise, which gave rise to all the important events recorded in his History. I am sorry to have occasion to apply a similar remark to a celebrated modern historian, the Cavaliero Rosmini, who, in his Life of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, has adverted to Alexander VI. as having concurred in calling Charles VIII. into Italy, and afterwards refused him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples (*vide* Istoria di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, vol. i. p. 334), forgetting that he had before stated, that Alexander had used all his efforts to induce Lodovico Sforza to unite with him and the king of Naples in opposing the French, and had cited a decisive original document to that effect. *Vide* Istoria, &c. vol. i. p. 201; Ibid. vol. ii. p. 193; and Ital. Tr. Hist. of Leo X. vol. ii. p. 180, where Count Bossi has given the documents which demonstrate that the pope was adverse to bringing the French into Italy.

NOTE 88 (p. 84).—Respecting the conduct of the duke of Ferrara on this occasion, some discordance of opinion appears among the historians of Italy. Muratori asserts, that he exerted his efforts to dissuade Lodo-

vico Sforza from his imprudent design of inviting the French into Italy.—Annali, ix. 569. But Guicciardini, on the contrary, informs us, that Ercole abetted the enterprise, and assigns his motives for it at length. In deciding between these eminent historians, of whom the one was a contemporary, and the other has in general drawn his information from the documents of the times, it becomes necessary to resort to further evidence. Benedetti, in his Fatto d'arme del Tarro, expressly asserts, that Charles was invited into Italy by Lodovico Sforza, *Ercole duke of Ferrara*, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, and Lorenzo (the son of Pier-Francesco) de' Medici; assigning as a reason for it (which strongly confirms the idea that Alexander VI. was uniformly hostile to the measure), that the aversion in which the pope was held by some of the cardinals, induced them to wish for a change in the pontificate (*vide* p. 5.) And from the History of Ferrara, by Sardi, it appears, that Ercole accompanied Lodovico Sforza to meet the king at Alexandria.—Sardi, Hist. Ferr. lib. x. p. 194. From all which, it may be clearly inferred, that the duke of Ferrara took an active part in bringing the French into Italy.

Note 89 (p. 84).—Count Bossi, in his Ital. Tr. vol. i. p. 204, has observed, that it could scarcely be said, that in the year 1493, the use of artillery was a recent invention; it having been known at a period prior to the writings of Petrarca, and consequently before the year 1330; for which he cites the authority of the Cav. Venturini, Storia dell' origine, e de' primi progressi delle moderne artiglierie. Milan, 1816, 4to.*

Note 90 (p. 85).—It appears from Giustiniani, Annali di Genoa, p. 249, that the Genoese banker was Antonio Sauli, who first advanced to the king 70,000 ducats, and afterwards 25,000 more, at Rome. If we may judge of the supposed risk of loss, by the rate of interest, it was regarded as a hazardous adventure; such interest being no less than cent. per cent.—Commines, liv. vii. proem, p. 184.

Note 91 (p. 86).—Burcardo, who made a journey to Naples, soon after the death of the king, relates, that Ferdinand, having found himself indisposed at his villa of Trapergola, returned to Naples, where, in dismounting from his horse, he fell senseless, and died on the following day, without either confession or sacraments. His confessor cried out to him, in vain, to repent of his sins and his opposition to the Church, for he gave not the slightest symptom of contrition.—Burcard. Diar. ap. Not. des MSS. du Roi, i. 108.

Note 92 (p. 87).—To this period we may refer the beautiful Latin verses of Sanazzaro, which celebrate the life and actions of Alfonso, and advert to many circumstances either not noticed, or imperfectly related by the historians of the times.—*Vide* Sanaz. Eleg. lib. ii. el. 1. His accession to the crown is also commemorated by Cariteo, in a canzone, wherein he particularly refers to the meditated invasion of Naples by the arms of the French; to which circumstance he also alludes in other parts of his works, with that indignation and contempt of Charles VIII. to which the occasion may readily be supposed to have given rise.

NOTE 93 (p. 89).—Commines, who calls him "un bon et sage chevalier," says, that he had "quelques deux cents hommes d'armes," lib. vii. chap. 5; but Corio, a writer of equal credit, says that he had "mille cavelli Francesi."—Storia de Milan, par. vii. p. 927. This faithful soldier, and judicious counsellor, to whom the success of the expedition may be chiefly attributed, was of Scottish origin, and is denominated by Summonte, in his History of Naples, vol. iii. p. 516 (Corr. 580), "Everardo Estuardo" (Everard or Edward Stuart), "Scozzese, per sopra nome, detto Monsignore di Obegni."

NOTE 94 (p. 90).—The exertions of the monarch were celebrated by the eminent scholars who adorned his court: and Sanazzaro, at this juncture, produced one of his finest Italian poems, in which he has endeavoured to inspire his fellow-soldiers with courage and resolution, in defence of their sovereign and their country.—Opere Volg. p. 60.

NOTE 95 (p. 91).—It belonged to Commines, who denominates it "une grosse galeace (qui étoit mienne) qui patronisoit un appellé Albert Meley, sur laquelle étoit le dict duc et les principaux. Et la dicte galeace avoit grande artillerie, et grosses pieces (car elle étoit puissante) et s'approcha si près de terre que l'artillerie déconfit presque l'ennemi, qui jamais n'en avoit veu de semblable, et étoit chose nouvelle et Italie:" liv. vii. chap. 5, p. 194. The use of artillery was, however, known in Italy about the year 1380, in the wars between the Genoese and the Venetians.—Summonte, Storia di Napoli, iii. 497 (Corr. 563). Malavolti, Storia di Siena, p. 170. Guicciardini, lib. i. The latter author, however, acknowledges that the French had brought this "diabolical implement" to much greater perfection, and employed it with more celerity and effect, than had before been done. Cornazzano, in his poem, "De Re Militari," narrates the discovery of fire-arms at considerable length. The larger pieces were denominated Bombardi, the smaller Scopetti, and Spingarde.

NOTE 96 (p. 91).—At this time Caritco endeavoured to incite the states of Italy to concord and confidence in each other, and to an united defence against the common enemy, in an energetic canzone.

NOTE 97 (p. 92).—André de la Vigne was secretary to Anne of Bretagne, queen of Charles VIII., and accompanied the king on this expedition, of which he has left a journal, in prose and verse, entitled *Le* Vergier d'Honneur, which has been attributed in part, to Octavien de St. Gelais, bishop of Angoulême; but the French critics have determined, that the complaint on the death of Charles VIII. and his epitaph, are the only parts of the work to which the bishop has any pretensions.

NOTE 98 (p. 92).—"Champion de l'honneur des dames." Of the taste of the monarch, and of the delicacy of his female attendants, some idea may be formed from the account given of these representations; one of which was a pretended *accouchement*. This exhibition is described in the rude verses of André de la Vigne.

NOTE 99 (p. 93).—Historians have represented this disorder as the small-pox. Malavolti, in his History of Siena, says, that Charles was

detained at Asti about a month. Commines also denominates the disorder of the king, "la petite verole," and adds, that his life was in danger. Benedetti, in his Fatto de arme sul Tarro, p. 7, informs us, that from change of air, Charles was seized with a fever, "e mando fuori alcuni segni che si chiamano *epinittide* (ἐπινυκτὶδα, *night-pimples*); i nostri le chiamano *Vajuole*." From the extreme licentiousness in which the king had indulged himself, it is not, however, improbable that his complaint was of a different nature, and that the loathsome disorder, which, within the space of a few months afterwards, began to spread itself over Italy, and was thence communicated to the rest of Europe, is of royal origin, and may be dated from this event. In favour of this supposition it may be observed, that this disease was much more violent in its symptoms, on its first appearance, than in after-times, and that its resemblance to the small-pox probably gave rise to the appellation by which it has since been known.—Fracastor, Syphil. lib. i. l. 349.

Note 100 (p. 93).—Corio, part vii. p. 936. This unfortunate princess is introduced by Bernardo Accolti, as thus lamenting her misfortunes:—

"Re padre, Re fratel, Duca in consorte
Ebbi, e in tre ami, i tre rapi la morte."

Accolti. Op. Ven. 1519.

Note 101 (p. 100).—Ammirato, Ritratti d'huomini di Casa Medici, Opusc. vol. iii. p. 65. To the short period which elapsed between the death of Lorenzo and the expulsion of his son Piero, we may refer the Latin poem of Lorenzo Vitelli, entitled "Arborea," in which, under the allegory of a vigorous and fruitful tree, he describes the flourishing family of the Medici; not aware of the sudden blight which it was shortly to experience. *Vide* Carm. illust. Poet. Ital. vol. xi. p. 386.

Note 102 (p. 101).—Ammirato, Istorie Fiorentine, vol. iii. p. 223. The dispersion of the library of Politiano followed soon after the exile of the Medici. The learned admirers of this great man will, perhaps, be gratified with the inventory of the MSS. and other effects found in his possession at the time of his death, taken by the celebrated and learned Greek, Joannes Lascar, and which has not before been printed. *Vide* App. No. IV.

Note 103 (p. 103).—On the same day died at Florence, in the thirty-second year of his age, the accomplished Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula, and, if we may credit the report of Savonarola, had the good fortune to obtain a situation in purgatory. This intelligence the preacher announced to his audience at the conclusion of one of his sermons, a few days after the death of that eminent man. The verses of Marullus, on the death of Pico, are more appropriate, although less known, than the ostentatious lines inscribed on his tomb in the church of S. Morco at Florence. *Vide* Op. Mar. 53.

Note 104 (p. 103).—Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 14. The entrance of the king into Florence is one of those topics on which his poetical annalist, De la Vigne, dwells with particular satisfaction. On this occasion he enumerates the whole array of the French army, and all the attendants of the king.

NOTE 105 (p. 103).—Lorenzo, the son of Pier-Francesco, appears to have emulated his relations of the elder branch of his family, in the love of literature, and patronage of learned men. Politiano has addressed to him his Sylva, entitled "Manto," in terms of great esteem. The beautiful introductory stanzas to this piece have been elegantly translated by the Rev. Mr. Greswell, in his "Memoirs of Politiano," &c. p. 92. Lorenzo di Pier-Francesco was also the great patron of the poet Marullus, who has inscribed to him, at different times, his four books of epigrams, several of which are devoted to his praise.

Marullus also addressed to Giovanni, the other son of Pier-Francesco, a copy of Latin verses, in praise of Caterina Sforza, the widow of Girolamo Riario, whom Giovanni afterwards married, and by whom he had Giovanni de' Medici, captain of the *bande nere*, usually called "Il gran diavolo," and father of Cosmo I. grand-duke of Tuscany. *Vide* Epigr. lib. iv. p. 54.

NOTE 106 (p. 104).—Ammirato, Ritratti d'uomini illustri di Casa Medici, 52, 65. Philip de Commines was at Venice when Piero de' Medici arrived, and seems to have taken an interest in his misfortunes; for, says he, "j'avois aimé le père." Piero, in recounting his disasters, particularly dwelt on the unkindness of one of his factors, who refused to furnish him with apparel, to the amount of one hundred ducats, for the use of himself and his brother. So true is it, that ingratitude is the sting of misfortune.

NOTE 107 (p. 106).—Guicciardini, whilst he admits that the citizens and the French soldiery lived in mutual apprehension and distrust of each other, asserts, that they did not proceed to acts of violence. "Niuno assaltava l'altro o provocava;" but Nardi, who was also a Florentine and a contemporary, and whose History is chiefly confined to the internal transactions of the city, informs us, that this affray lasted more than an hour.—Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 15.

NOTE 108 (p. 106).—"Il re fattolo richiamare indietro, perche era suo familiare, essendo stato oratore in Francia appresso di sua maestà, sorridendo disse: *Ah Ciappon, Ciappon, voi viete un mal Ciappon.*"—Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. i. p. 15. This royal equivoque is not worth a translation.

NOTE 109 (p. 108).—Alessandro Benedetti, in his "Fatto d'arme del Tarro," p. 6, states the French army at only twenty-five thousand, viz. Horse, five thousand, Flemish and Swiss, fifteen thousand, and the remainder, infantry of various nations; but besides these, he admits that there was a considerable number of Italian auxiliaries.

NOTE 110 (p. 109).—It is written in *terza rima*, and is addressed to the Doge of Venice, Agostino Barbadico. The Italian governments are distinguished by the devices of their arms. "The serpent of the house of Sforza has changed the current of the Tesino, and mingled it with that of the Reno. The Florentine lion, like a dog that has undergone correction, declines his head; and the wolf of Siena has wandered from her usual path." He then calls on the Venetian state to assist the common cause.

" Italia, once the praise of every tongue,
Now scarcely drags her languid steps along;
But let thy glorious standard wide unfurled,
Tremendous wave before the shrinking world;
And bid thy winged lion, at whose sight
The forest tenants seek the shades of night,
Spread his broad vans, distend his serried jaws,
Shake his strong mane, and ope his sheathed claws;
Ferrara's Hercules shall strive in vain,
Nemean like, to stretch him on the plain;
Though to thy matchless glory adverse still,
His power is only wanting to his will."

The lamentations of the different cities of Italy are followed by a spirited exhortation to a vigorous and united defence, and the alliance and protection of Alfonso are particularly recommended to the chief of the Venetian republic.

" Asserter of Italia's rights and laws,
Do thou defend *Alfonzo's* sacred cause,
Nor trust barbarian hordes, whose hearts of steel
Relenting pity never taught to feel;
From foes like these, intent on spoil and strife,
Defend thy country's freedom with thy life;
Nor let the serpent with his scaly train,
Nor Gallic cock, thy native seats profane."

This poem remained in manuscript until the year 1738, when it was given to the public by the learned Giovambattista Parisotto, in the " Opuscoli " of Calogerà, tom. xviii. accompanied with an introductory letter and notes by the editor.

Note 111 (p. 113).—These circumstances also explicitly appear from the Diary of Burchard above cited, and may serve to correct an error of Guicciardini, who asserts that the pope consented to invest Charles with the sovereignty of Naples. The long negotiations which afterwards took place on this subject, and which Guicciardini himself relates, and the silence of the treaty on this head, are a full confirmation, if any were yet wanting, of the veracity of Burchard. Respecting the investiture of the French king, it may be proper further to observe, that in the dissertation of M. de Foncemagne, on the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539), that writer has endeavoured to shew, that at the time the pope delivered up the Turkish fugitive, he also invested the French king with the title of " Emperor of Constantinople." In confirmation of this circumstance, not adverted to by any contemporary historian, he has produced and published a document which purports to be the act of a notary public, transferring the empire of the East from Andrea Paleologus to Charles, said to have been first discovered by the duke De St. Aignan, the French ambassador at Rome and presented by the pope to Louis XIV. M. de Foncemagne considers it as a French lawyer would a contract for the sale of a house; and, not being able to discover, *that the king appeared before the notary*

to affirm the contract, is inclined to doubt its validity. These doubts are increased by the discovery, that, six years afterwards, Paleologus made his will, and bequeathed his empire to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, which, it is with great simplicity added, *he could not have done*, had the previous disposition been effectual. I shall only remark on one suspicious circumstance respecting this investiture, viz. that it purports to bear date on the eighth day of September, 1494, nearly four months before the arrival of Charles at Rome, and whilst the pope was avowedly hostile to his views. In the present day, when kingdoms are transferred without sufficient ceremony, it may be of use to the gentlemen of the long robe, to have a *precedent* for *conveying* an empire, by the act of a notary public. This document will be found in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvii.

NOTE 112 (p. 113).—Soon after his arrival, some of his suite were insulted by the Jews; in consequence of which he ordered the Mareschal de Gies to inquire into the subject, and six of them were hanged in the Campo di Flora. He also erected gallows in different parts of the city, and executed several malefactors:

"Par quoi l'on peut noter
Que sa puissance étoit bien singulier."
Vergier d'Honneur.

NOTE 113 (p. 113).—This was William Brissonet, who, with his brother Robert, had instigated the king to the war. Alexander VI. had already sent him the red hat to France, but had withdrawn it, because it was the price for which the bishop was to prevail upon the king to change his thoughts. Now, therefore, he received it from the hands of the pope, as a recompense from the king.—Frizon, Gallia Purpur. p. 540. Note of Mr. Henke; which confirms the idea, that the pope was, from the first, adverse to the war.

NOTE 114 (p. 115).—It was a common opinion (if, says Guicciardini, we may be allowed not altogether to despise such reports) that the ghost of Ferdinand, the late king, had appeared thrice to the chief surgeon of the court, and on his first visit had mildly requested, but afterwards commanded him with threats, to announce to his son Alfonso, that all attempts to resist the French arms were hopeless; and that it was destined, that, after various misfortunes and the loss of their kingdom, their family should become extinct. The ghost, it seems, explained also the reason of this calamity, which was intended as a just retribution for the enormities committed by the Aragonese against their subjects; and particularly for the cruelty of Ferdinand, in having, at the instigation of Alfonso, put to death, in the church of S. Leonardo, at Chiaia, near Naples, many of his barons, whom he had long detained in prison. There was, however, no need of a ghost, to excite in the mind of Alfonso

; of

an enraged populace dragging him to punishment.—Guicciard. lib. i. vol. i. pp. 65, 66.

NOTE 115 (p. 115).—The following production of Sanazzaro, although not expressly applied to this event, in any edition of his works, sufficiently marks the subject on which it was written.

O thou, so long the Muse's favourite theme,
Expected tenant of the realms of light;
Now sunk for ever in eternal night,
Or recollected only to thy shame!
From my polluted page thy hated name
I blot; already on my loathing sight
Too long obtruded; and to purer white
Convert the destined record of thy fame.
On thy triumphant deeds far other strains
I hop'd to raise; but thou defraud'st the song:
Ill-omen'd bird, that shun'st the day's broad eye.
Go then, and whilst the Muse thy praise disdains,
Oblivion's flood shall sweep thy name along,
And spotless and unstain'd the paper lie.

Antonio Tebaldeo has also adverted to this event in one of his sonnets, more remarkable for good sense than poetry. "If," says he, "a kingdom could have been defended by immense treasures, strong walls, powerful armies, or a commander of acknowledged talents, Alfonso might yet have maintained his sovereignty; but he who would reign in safety ought to know, that it must be by the love of his subjects, and not by their dread of him; and whoever adopts a different maxim will, in the end, discover his error." Then, rising to a higher strain, he exclaims, "Eternal disgrace to Italy! shall it then be read, that so powerful a kingdom could not resist the French arms for a single month! When Saguntum was attacked by Hannibal, she defended herself to the last extremity; for death itself is sweet on behalf of a good prince."

NOTE 116 (p. 116).—At this juncture, Crinitus wrote a Latin ode, in which he deplores the want of unanimity among the states and people of Italy, and anticipates the approaching calamities of Naples.

"Ah! why the hated theme recal,
Or bid me sing th' imperious Gaul?
Already tears enough are shed;
Of slaughter'd friends, enough have bled,
Yet, most disgraceful of our woes,
We, too, confed'rate with our foes;
Our wealth, our strength, to them resign;
And with their hostile standards join.
"As thus extends the direful pest,
We perish by ourselves oppress,
And victims of a mutual hate,
Each from the other meet our fate.
Meanwhile his bands the conqueror calls,
And points to Rome's defenceless walls,

And menaces the sacred band,
That round her holy altars stand,
Whilst the fierce soldier, stain'd with blood,
Hurls his proud spear in Tiber's flood
"O ancient worth, for ever fled!
O manes of the illustrious dead!
Through your pale bands what horror moves,
Whilst Jove the adverse cause approves!
Hence what streams of blood shall flow,
What ills shall rise, what fires shall glow,
Whilst Naples mourns to future times,
The victim of another's crimes!
And sinks the Aragonian star,
Before the blazing god of war!
'Tis he directs th' o'erwhelming flood,
And scorns Italia's dastard brood
Trembling, I mark the dread decree —
Ah, hapless Naples, woe to thee!"

NOTE 117 (p 116) —Sagredo, in his "Memorie istoriche de' monarchi Ottomani," informs us, that Zizim lived only three days after he was consigned to Charles, and died at Terracina, having been poisoned by Alexander VI, who was induced to commit this crime, by the promise of an immense reward from the sultan Bajazet "La cieca gentilità" says the historian, "adoro più idoli, a nostri giorni l'idolo universale è l'interesse" (p 97) Guicciardini also informs us, that he was poisoned at the instance of Alexander VI, but mentions Naples as the place of his death, in which last circumstance Corio agrees with him, but accounts for it by the negligence of the French monarch—"per la indiligenza di Carlo"—Stor Milan. par vii p 939 This latter account is also confirmed by the testimony of Burchard, who ascertains, not only the cause, but the day of his death — '15 Februarii, le fils du Grand Turc mourut a Naples—ex esu sive potu non convenienti naturæ suæ et consueto" On this subject, some curious documents remain, from which it appears, that the pope applied to Bajazet to assist him in repelling the attack of the French, and had represented to him that Charles intended to obtain the custody of Zizim, in order to promote his views upon the Ottoman state In the reply of Bajazet (if so atrocious a production can be considered as authentic) he intreats that the pope will have the goodness to put his brother Zizim to death, in such way as he may judge best, and thereby translate his soul to another state, where he may enjoy greater repose For this deliberate murder, Bajazet solemnly promises to pay to the pope three hundred thousand gold ducats, to enable him to purchase a domain for his sons, and to allow the Christians a free intercourse in his dominions On another occasion, Bajazet recommends to the pope a proper person to be honoured with the rank of a cardinal Such was the fraternal intercourse which at this period subsisted between the Mahometan chief and the head of the Christian church! —*Vide* Diary of Burchard, from Gordon's Hist of Alex VI For some additional remarks as to the probability that Zizim was poisoned by

the pope, see Henke, Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 214. Bossi, Ital. ed. vol ii. p. 20.

Note 118 (p. 117).—The Cav. Rosmini, in his excellent Life of Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, has endeavoured at considerable length to vindicate him against this accusation, and to shew, on the authority of Rebucco, the secretary and biographer of Trivulzio, that he had the consent of Ferdinand to quit his service, and to enter into that of the king of France. Istor. di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, vol. i. cap. v. p. 231; cap. xiii. p. 559. Rosmini has observed that I have, in this instance, only adopted the sentiments of Guicciardini, which is very true; and which I still think preferable to that of a domestic, and probably, therefore, a partial narrator; but the facts sufficiently speak for themselves.

Note 119 (p. 118).—Vergier d'Honneur. Muratori states the number of his army, on his entering Naples, at thirty thousand men; independent of the troops he had left in the Tuscan fortresses, in the states of the church, and the other cities of the Neapolitan state.—Annali, vol. ix. p. 579.

Note 120 (p. 119).—Nardi, Vita di Antonio Giacomino Tebaldini Malespini, p. 18. Fior. 1597. The pusillanimous conduct of the Italian states, received, however, a severer reprehension from the pen of Antonio Tebaldeo, who, with honest indignation, has thus recorded the degradation of his country:—

SONNET.

Not with so prompt a foot fierce Hannibal
Rush'd o'er thy fields; nor e'er amid th' alarms
Of Gothic fury and barbarian arms,
Didst thou so tame and unresisting fall!
Ah whence these terrors, that thy sons appal,
Inglorious Italy! whilst forward springs
The Gallic cock, and claps his conquering wings;
Nor hears the voice of answering vengeance call?
Just is thy doom: for now that honour'd earth,
That gave to Scipio and Camillus birth,
Sardanapalus, Midas, Crassus claim.
Once, in thy better days, a cackling goose
From the Tarpeian rock could scare thy foes;
—Now eagles, serpents, lions—all are tame.

This rude production of a contemporary poet, may at least serve to call to recollection the elegant sonnet of Vincenzo Filicaja, written about two centuries afterwards, during the war of the Spanish succession, when the French and the Imperialists made Italy once more the theatre of their hostilities.

SONNET.

Italia! thou to whom in evil hour,
The fatal boon of beauty nature gave,
Yet on thy front the sentence did engrave,
That ceaseless woe should be thy only dower!

Ah were that beauty less, or more thy power!
That he who now compels thee to his arms,
Might gaze with cold indifference on thy charms,
Or tremble at thine eye's indignant lower!
Then shouldst thou not observe, in glittering line,
From the high Alps embattled throngs descend,
And Gallic herds pollute thy Po's clear wave;
Nor whilst encompass'd close by spears not thine,
Shouldst thou by foreign hands thy rights defend,
Conquering or conquer'd, evermore a slave.

NOTE 121 (p. 121).—"Il alloit quelquefois," says Commines, translating the appellation into French, "au Mont impériale;" which has led his commentator, Denis Sauvage, to conjecture that he went "en manteau impériale, pour venir à ce qu'aucun disent qu'il fut couronné pour empereur de Constantinople." Such is the authority on which an Historiographer "du très Chrétien Roi, Henri II." would imply the pretensions of the French monarchs to the empire of the east!—*Vide* Mém. de Comm. lib. vii. chap. xiv. This palace was built by Alfonso, duke of Calabria, on his return from his successful expedition against the Turks at Otranto. A very curious account of it is given in the Vergier d'Honneur of André de la Vigne.

NOTE 122 (p. 122).—Dr. Robertson is mistaken in asserting that Ferdinand "acquired the kingdoms of Naples and *Sicily*, by violating the faith of treaties, and disregarding the ties of blood" (Hist. of Charles V. book i.), Ferdinand having succeeded to the undisputed sovereignty of Sicily, on the death of his father, John, king of Aragon and Sicily, the brother of Alfonso I.

NOTE 123 (p. 124).—Machiavelli animadverts on the conduct of Lodovico, on this occasion, in his first "Decennale." It is amusing to observe with what simplicity Philip de Commines, who was then ambassador of the French king at Venice, relates the manner in which he was imposed upon by the artifices of the Venetian Doge and senators, who flattered him with personal attentions, and assurances of amity, till this formidable league, which he had the mortification to see proclaimed with extraordinary magnificence at Venice, was fully completed. This narration, which occupies the 15th chapter of his seventh book, is highly interesting, and deserves an attentive perusal.

NOTE 124 (p. 125).—"Tous états et offices," says Commines, "furent donnés aux François, à deux ou trois." I suspect that Giannone has misunderstood this passage, when he says, "Tutte le autorità e carichi furono conferiti a due o tre Franzesi."—Storia di Napoli, lib. xxix. chap. ii. For a very just account of the general character of the French in their conquests, *vide* Robertson's "History of Scotland," book ii. vol. i. p. 128.

NOTE 125 (p. 126).—Guicciard. lib. ii. vol. i. p. 90. That the Neapolitans should express their aversion cautiously, under the immediate pressure of a military government, cannot be surprising; yet the voice

of complaint was not wholly silent, and the following lines of Crinitus, addressed to Bernardo Caraffa, one the chief nobility of Naples, may be considered as the expression of a national sentiment.

ODE.

Thy sad lament, my friend, forbear;
Nor longer pour the fruitless tear;
Enough to patriot sorrows given,
Think not to change the doom of Heaven.
We feel the fates, and own their sway,
Whilst NAPLES sinks, a hapless prey;
Her iron bondage doomed to mourn,
Till that auspicious hour return,
When, to his native soil restored,
She hails again her former lord;
Him who recals her ancient fame,
And vindicates her honour'd name.
Yet when that happier dawn shall rise,
My mortal vision ill descries;
And dubious is the voice divine,
Responsive from Apollo's shrine.
But, hark! along the sounding poles,
Signal of hope, the thunder rolls;
And soon th' avenging bolt shall fall
That checks the fury of the GAUL.

NOTE 126 (p. 126).—Summonte, Storia di Napoli, lib. vi. p. 517 (581), and after him Giannone (lib. xxix. cap. ii. p. 389), positively assert, that the pope, alarmed by the threats of the king, expedited to him the bull of investiture, and appointed a legate, who performed the office of coronation. It is, however, highly probable, that these two judicious and national historians, have on this occasion fallen into an error. Benedetti, in his "Fatto d'arme sul Tarro," asserts that Alexander positively refused to comply with the request of the king; in consequence of which Charles, forgetting his expedition to Jerusalem, threatened to overturn the governments of Italy, and the dominion of the pope (p. 9). The negative opinion is also strongly confirmed by the French annalists. Commines coldly informs us, that the king was crowned (liv. vii. chap. 14); and André de la Vigne, although he minutely describes the ceremony in which Charles swore to maintain the rights of the people, and enumerates the chief of the French nobility who were present on that occasion, neither notices the papal investiture, nor even asserts that any coronation took place. The subsequent flight of Alexander, on the second visit of the king to Rome, may also be admitted as an additional proof that he had not complied with the wishes of the king in granting his sanction for the coronation.

NOTE 127 (p. 127).—It was most probably also on this occasion, that Raffaello Brandolini, called "Lippo Brandolini il giovane," made a panegyric oration before the king, which he immediately turned into verse;

on which Charles is said to have exclaimed, "Magnus orator, summus poeta!" It is certain that the monarch conferred on Raffaello a pension of one hundred crowns, and gave him an honourable diploma, which bears date at Castel Capuano, the 18th May, 1495; in which he assigns as a reason for his bounty, the services which Raffaello had rendered, and might yet render to the king, and that he might be enabled to pursue his studies to advantage. In this diploma he is said to have been *cæcus a nativitate*; but Mazzuchelli conjectures, from his appellation of Lippo, that he was not born blind.—*Vide* Mazz. Scrittori d'Italia, vol. vi. p. 2018, tit. Brandolini. It is indeed not improbable that Brandolini, and not Pontano, made the oration before the king on his coronation at Naples.

NOTE 128 (p. 137).—Among this booty were some singular articles:—"Vi fu trovato un libro, nel quale, sotto diversi habiti ed età, al naturale erano dipinte molte femine per loro violate in molte città, e seco il portavano *per memoria*."—Corio, 949. Benedetti asserts, that he saw this invaluable treasure:—"Vidi io un libro, nel quale erano dipinte varie imagini di meretrici, sotto diverso habito ed età, ritratte al naturale; secondo che la lascivia, e l'amore l'aveva tratto in ciascuna città: queste portava egli (il Re) seco dipinte *per ricordarsene* poi."—Fatto d'arme del Tarro, p. 31.

NOTE 129 (p. 137).—Summonte asserts, that two thousand of the French, and four thousand Italians, were slain in this engagement (Storia di Napoli, vol. iii. p. 582); but the number is exaggerated. The slaughter of the Italians was in the proportion of more than ten to one of the French, who lost only from two to three hundred men. This is in a great degree to be attributed to the cruelty of the French, who massacred all those who fell into their hands, without making any prisoners, whilst such of the French as were taken by the Italians were well treated, and soon afterwards obtained their liberty. In an interview which Commines had soon after the battle with the marquis of Mantua, that commander recommended to him the prisoners, and particularly his uncle Ridolfo, whom he supposed to be living. Mém. liv. viii. chap. vii. p. 233.

NOTE 130 (p. 139):—

"Dii patrii, quorum Ausonia est sub numine, tuque
Tu Latii, Saturne, pater, quid gens tua tantum
Est merita? An quidquam superest dirique gravisque
Quod sit inexhaustum nobis? Ecquod genus usquam
Aversum usque adeo cœlum tulit? Ipsa labores,
Parthenope, dic prima tuos, dic funera regum,
Et spolia, et prædas, captivaque colla tuorum.
An stragem infandam memorem, sparsumque cruorem
Gallorumque, Italûmque pari discrimine, quum jam
Sanguineum, et defuncta virûm defunctaque equorum
Corpora volventem, cristasque atque arma trahentem
Eridanus pater acciperet rapido agmine Tarrum?"

NOTE 131 (p. 148).—Mr. Henke has observed, that "it was less the deliverance of the Pisans, than the freeing of Italy in general from the danger of a second visit from the French, that Maximilian had in view; as he took a part in these transactions conformably to a still subsisting treaty concluded at Venice in the preceding year. The most accurate account of it is contained in 'Io. Jac. Ghilini, de Cæsaris adventu in Italiam Hist.' tom. iii. p. 91, ed. Struvii. This Ghilini was in the service of Lodovico Sforza, and on this account is entitled to a greater degree of credit than Guicciardini, who was always very zealous for the honour of his native Florence. *Vide* Hegewick, Hist. of Maximil. I. vol. i. p. 166." (Note of M. Henke, Germ. ed. vol. i. p 261.)*

NOTE 132 (p. 149).—The epitaph which Lodovico caused to be placed over the body of his child displays his arrogance in the midst of his grief:—"Infelix partus, amisi ante vitam quam in lucem ederer; infelicior quod matri moriens vitam ademi, et parentem consorte sua orbavi. In tam adverso fato hoc solum mihi potest jucundum esse, QUOD DIVI PARENTES ME LUDOVICUS, ET BEATRIX, MEDIOLANENSES DUCES, GENUERE, 1497, TERTIO NONAS JANUARII."—Corio, Storia di Milan. par. vii. p. 962.

NOTE 133 (p. 153).—Gordon, in his Life of Alexander VI. (Lond. 1720, fo.) not only asserts, on the authority of Tomaso Tomasi, that Cæsar was the perpetrator of this murder, but has given at great length the private conferences between him and the assassins hired for this purpose, with as much accuracy as if he had himself been present on the occasion (*vide* pp. 153, &c.). In the same manner he has also favoured us with the private conversation between Cæsar and the duke, on their last interview in the streets of Rome: "Cæsar wished him much pleasure, and so they parted."—A mode of writing which reduces history below the level of romance.

NOTE 134 (p. 155).—Mr. Henke has discussed this subject at considerable length, and has adduced the authority of several writers to shew that Cæsar was guilty of the murder, at which it was supposed even the pope connived. The authors he has referred to are, Raph. Volaterr. Commentar. Urban. lib. xxii. Onuphrius Panvinius. Vit. Alex. VI. p. 339, ed Cologn. 1626. Petri Mart. Anglerii opus Epistolar. p. 99, ed. Amst. (*Vide* Henke, Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 273.) Mr. Henke attributes the conduct of the pope on this occasion to the apprehensions he had for his own safety, from the atrocious character of his son.*

NOTE 134 (p. 157).—Nardi informs us that this attempt was made on the twenty-eighth day of April, 1497. According to the same author, Piero de' Medici approached so near to the city walls, as to be seen by the inhabitants; who came in throngs, as to a spectacle, to take a view of him and his associates, but gave no demonstrations of attachment to his cause. He remained there about two hours; and being molested by the small arms from the fortress, was obliged to take shelter behind the wall of one of the fountains in the suburbs of the city. This historian, who was a great admirer of Savonarola, gives a singular instance of the folly of the magis-

trates, and of his own credulity, in relating, that Girolamo Benivieni, the celebrated Florentine poet, who was himself a warm enthusiast, was despatched to consult Savonarola on the attempt made by Piero de' Medici, which had occasioned the magistrates great alarm; when Savonarola, who was engaged in reading, raised his head, and said to Benivieni—"*Modicæ fidei, quare dubitasti?*" Know you not that God is with you? Go, and inform the magistrates from me, that I shall pray to God for the city, and that they may entertain no fears; for Piero de' Medici will come as far as the gates, and return without having effected any thing." "And so," says the historian, "it proved."—Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. ii. p. 37.

Note 136 (p. 158).—To Lorenzo Tornabuoni, who was nearly related to the Medici, Politiano had inscribed, in terms of warm commendation, his Sylva, entitled "Ambra;" at the same time applauding him for his proficiency in the Greek language, and exhorting him to persevere in the study of it. His untimely death is lamented in a sonnet of Bernardo Accolti, called "L'Unico Aretino."—Opere d'Accolti, ed. Fir. 1514.

Note 137 (p. 161).—Guicciard. lib. iv. vol. i. p. 207. On this occasion Cæsar is supposed to have carried with him an immense treasure, and even the horses of his attendants are said to have been shod with silver. His magnificent entrance into Chinon is described by Brantome, Mém. v. 227, ed. Leyde. 1722. Gordon's Life of Alex. VI. p. 180. The divorce of Louis XII. and his marriage-contract with Anne of Bretagne, appear in the collection of Dumont, vol. iii. p. 2, pp. 404, 405.

Note 138 (p. 164).—It was probably on this disastrous event that the anguish of Piero de' Medici burst forth in the following sonnet, which, although incorrect and unpolished, may be considered as the genuine expression of his feelings. It is now first printed from the original in the Laurentian library, which appears there in a very rude and imperfect state.

SONETTO.

Non posso far che gli occhi non m'inacqui,
Pensando quel ch'io sono, e quel ch'io ero;
D'aver diletto mai più non spero
In alcun nido com' in quel ch'io nacqui.
Per certo ch'a fortuna troppo spiacqui,
E chi'l cognosca credi che'l sia 'l vero;
Sofert' ho in pace, e già non mi dispero,
Con tutto che con l'ira il viso *imbiacqui*.
Io m'assomiglio al legno in alto mare,
Che per fortuna l'arbore sta torto,
Cangio le vele e sto per annegare.
Se non perisco ancor, guignerò in porto.
Fortuna sa quel ch'ella sa ben fare,
Sana in un punto chi è quasi morto.
Io son fuor del mio orto,
Dice il proverbio; odi parola adorna
Che chi non muor qualche volta ritorna.

SONNET.

When all my sorrows past I call to mind,
And what I am, with what I was, compare;
No more allow'd those dear delights to share,
Alone to thee, my native spot, confined,
Tears dim my eyes. Yet though with looks unkind
Vindictive fortune still pursues me near,
Firm as I may her injuries I bear;
In spirit ardent, but with heart resign'd.
Like some storm-beaten bark, that o'er the deep
Dismantled drives, the sport of every blast,
I speed my way, and hourly wait my doom.
Yet when I trace the many dangers past,
Hope still revives; my destined course I keep,
And trust to fate for happier hours to come.

Note 139 (p. 167).—Nerli, Commentarii, vol. iv. p. 84. The unhappy fate of Vitelli is commemorated by Ant. F. Ranieri, in the following not inelegant lines:—

"Urbis ut ingratæ scelus, et victricia Pauli
Audiit immiti colla resecta manu,
Scipiadum major, Tua quid benefacta, Vitelli,
Quid valuere mea? ah, dixit et ingemuit."

Nardi informs us, that, although no charge but that of disobedience could be proved against Vitelli, before his execution, many of his letters were afterwards discovered which manifested his treachery.—Hist. Fior. lib. iii. p. 61. This mode of executing a person first, and obtaining the proofs of his guilt afterwards, is not greatly to be commended, and affords too much reason to conjecture that the documents were fabricated for the purpose of justifying an act of odious and illegal severity.

Note 140 (p. 169).—Mr. Henke has observed, that Carlotta was not the daughter of John d'Albert, whom Catherine, the sole heiress to the kingdom of Navarre, had chosen for her husband in 1484, but of Alan d'Albert. *Vide* Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 297.

Note 141 (p. 169).—When the news of the marriage of Cæsar Borgia, and of his being honoured by Louis XII. with the order of St. Michael, was received at Rome, great rejoicings took place; which, if we may believe Burchard, were conducted in a manner highly discreditable to the pontiff and the apostolic see.—Burchard, Diar. *Vide* Appendix to Gordon's Life of Alexander VI.

Note 142 (p. 174).—On the same day that Sforza was made prisoner, the poet Marullus lost his life in attempting to pass the river Cecina, in the district of Volterra. His untimely fate was a subject of regret to several of his learned friends.

Note 143 (p. 176).—Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 254.—The frequent introduction of the "siege of Pisa" may perhaps remind the reader of the sarcasm of Boccalini, where he pretends that the Laconic senate con-

demned an unfortunate author, who had been convicted of using three words where two were sufficient, to read once over the "War of Pisa," by Guicciardini; but that the culprit, after having with great agony laboured through the first page, requested his judges would send him to the galleys for life, rather than compel him to go through with his labour. —Boccalin. Ragguag. vi. Guicciardini enjoys his reputation and the critic his jest.

NOTE 144 (p. 179).—Guicciardini, on the authority of particular and private information, relates that Cæsar had long borne a secret enmity against Piero de' Medici, on account of a circumstance which had occurred whilst Cæsar was pursuing his studies at Pisa, before his father was raised to the pontificate. Having occasion to resort to the assistance of Piero, on behalf of one of his friends, who was implicated in some criminal transaction, he had hastened from Pisa to Florence; but, after waiting some hours for an audience, whilst Piero was engaged in business or amusement, he had returned, not only without effecting his purpose, but without having obtained an interview. Trivial as this incident may appear, it must be remembered that the resentment of wounded pride is of all others the most violent, and that the soul of Borgia knew not how to forgive. *Vide* Guicciard. lib. v. vol. i. p. 264.

NOTE 145 (p. 181).—This device represented a book in the flames surmounted by the crown of Naples, with the motto, RECEDANT VETERA. The life, character, and conduct of Federigo are particularly noticed by Sanazzaro, in a Latin elegy, wholly devoted to that purpose, and which merits perusal, no less as an interesting historical monument, than as a beautiful poem. *Vide* Sanaz. Eleg. lib. iii. el. 1.

NOTE 146 (p. 184).—The poet Cariteo has paid the last tribute of duty and affection to his unfortunate sovereign in the second Cantico of his "Metamorphosi," in which he introduces the city Naples, the lovely Parthenope, lamenting her lost glory and happiness, and contrasting them with the disgraceful state of servitude to which she was reduced by her conquerors. A considerable part of the poem is devoted to the commemoration of the female part of the family; four of whom, then living, had sat upon a regul throne, and the fifth had enjoyed sovereign rank as duchess of Milan. Boccalini has selected the example of this last accomplished lady as the most unfortunate on historical record,—"unica nelle disgrazie,"—on which account he represents her, in his imaginary Parnassus, as reduced to the necessity of supporting herself by selling matches through the streets.—Ragguag. di Parnaso, 75.

NOTE 147 (p. 185).—Federigo died at Tours, in the year 1504, at fifty-two years of age. The Neapolitan historians feelingly regret the loss of a line of monarchs, who had for a long course of years rendered Naples the seat of magnificence, opulence, and learning; and of whom the last was the most deserving, and the most unfortunate. Sanazzaro on this occasion sold the remainder of his hereditary possessions to relieve the necessities of his sovereign, and remained with him to the time of his

death, having taken his farewell of his native country in some beautiful verses.—Epigr. lib. iii. ep. 7, ed. Com.

Note 148 (p. 185).—On the accession of Charles V. to the Spanish monarchy, the prince obtained the particular favour of that monarch, by refusing to place himself at the head of the Spanish insurgents, in the year 1522. His wife, Mencia di Mendoza, dying without children, Charles gave him, in a second marriage, Germaine de Foix, niece to Louis XII. of France, and widow of Ferdinand of Aragon,—a rich bride, but not likely to bear a progeny. On the death of this prince, which happened in the year 1550, this branch of the family of Aragon became extinct, his two younger brothers and two sisters having all died without offspring. Before the marriage of Federigo, king of Naples, with his queen Isabella, he had been married to Anna, daughter of Amadeus, duke of Savoy, by whom he left a daughter, Carlotta, and from her the dukes of Tremouille in France have claimed their descent; in consequence of which, they have in much later times asserted their rights to the crown of Naples. *Vide* Giannone, Storia di Napoli, lib. xxix. cap. iv. vol. iii. p. 406.

Note 149 (p. 192).—Ant. Franc. Raineri has commemorated the death of Vitellozzo in a copy of Latin verses, the substance of which he has compressed into the two following lines:—

"Non mare me, non Mars, sæva aut mors perdidit; at me
Perdidit omnibus his Borgius asperior."
Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. viii. 59.

And the same event has also afforded a subject for reprobation to Paulo Giovio, who justly denominates Borgia

"———— rabidus, barbarus, impotens,
Humani generis pernicies, atque hominum lues."
Carm. Illust. Poet. Ital. v. 433.

Note 150 (p. 192).—The cardinal Giambattista Orsino was detained by the pope in the Torre Borgia till the month of February following, when he died by poison, as it is supposed, administered to him by the direction of the pope; who caused him to be carried to the grave uncovered, that it might appear he had died a natural death.—Muratori, Annali, x. 13. Besides the individuals of the family of Orsini, mentioned by Machiavelli, the pope also seized upon Carlo Orsino, and the Abate d'Alviano, brother of the celebrated general Bartolommeo d'Alviano; but they were soon afterwards liberated.—Nardi, Hist. Fior. p. 88.

Note 151 (p. 193).—The presumption that Machiavelli had a principal part in the contrivance of this most iniquitous stratagem, is indeed extremely strong. The Florentines dreaded and abhorred both the Orsini and the Vitelli; the former as relations and adherents to the Medici, the latter for exerting themselves to avenge the unmerited fate of Paolo Vitelli, so cruelly put to death at Florence. Borgia had retreated to Imola, where Machiavelli found him in a state of great dejection, "pieno di paura." No sooner, however, did the Florentine envoy appear, than he took

fresh courage, and the plan for the destruction of their adversaries seems to have been agreed on. It is certain also that Machiavelli accompanied Cæsar to Sinigaglia, and was present at the perpetration of the deed; after which Borgia remarked to him, that "he knew the government of Florence would be gratified by this transaction."—*Vide* Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. iv. p. 85. The Florentine writers acknowledge that the intelligence of it gave great satisfaction in the city. The Florentines also sent Jacopo Salviati as their ambassador, to congratulate Cæsar on the success of his treachery.—Razzi, Vita di Pietro Soderini, p. 7. Padova, 1737.

Note 152 (p. 194).—Burchard informs us that the pope was attacked by a fever on the twelfth day of August, 1503; that on the sixteenth he was bled, and the disorder seemed to become tertian. On the seventeenth he took medicine; but on the eighteenth he became so ill that his life was despaired of. He then received the viaticum, during mass, which was celebrated in his chamber, and at which five cardinals assisted. In the evening extreme unction was administered to him, and in a few minutes afterwards he died.—Burchard, Diar. ap. Notices de la Bibliothèque du Roi, vol. i. p. 118. Muratori has produced many authorities to shew that the death of Alexander was not occasioned by poison; among which that of Beltrando Costabile, then ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara at Rome, seems the most decisive. "The court of Ferrara," adds Muratori, "which was then the residence of the daughter of Alexander, may be presumed to have been well-informed of the cause of his death." That it was, however, the general opinion at the time of his death that Alexander perished by poison, appears from numerous contemporary authorities. Mr. Henke has also adduced several authorities to shew that Alexander died by poison, and in particular has given a letter from Peter Martyr, dated Segov. 4 id. Nov. 1503 (about three months after the death of the pontiff), relating to this event. *Vide* Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 335.

Note 153 (p. 194).—To this period, when truth became a crime, we may refer the origin of the Roman pasquinades; of which the following lines afford one of the earliest instances:—

"Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.
Emerat ille prius; vendere jure potest.
De vitio in vitium, de flamma transit in ignem;
Roma sub Hispano deperit imperio.
Sextus Tarquinius, Sextus Nero, Sextus et iste;
Semper sub Sextis perdita Roma fuit."

Machiavelli, although more favourable to the family of Borgia most other writers, accuses him of lust, simony, and cruelty.

Note 154 (p. 196).—Oliverotto da Fermo had obtained the chief authority in the city from which he derived his name, by the treacherous murder of his uncle, and several of the principal inhabitants, whom he had invited to an entertainment. This atrocious deed was perpetrated on the same day in the preceding year, on which he afterwards fell into the snare of Cæsar Borgia. The other persons put to death by Borgia, had also supported themselves by rapine, and were the terror of all Italy. The contests of this period may, in fact, be regarded by posterity as a com-

bat of wild beasts, in which the strongest and most ferocious animal destroys the rest. *Vide* Mach. lib. del Principe, cap. viii. pp. 21, 22.

Note 155 (p. 196).—The cardinal Giovanni Borgia, nephew of the pontiff, was also an encourager of literature, and condescended to receive instructions from Mariano Probo, of Sulmona, who distinguished himself as a Latin poet, and died at Rome in the year 1499. His "Parthenias," or Life of the Virgin, in six books, was printed at Naples in 1524. The preface to this rare volume by Nic. Scevola, contains some curious particulars of the state of learning at Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI.

Note 156 (p. 196).—Mr. Henke has entered into copious details respecting this Julia Farnese, or Julia Bella, as she was called; who was the sister of Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III. and was married to one of the Orsini family. (*Vide* Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 242.) I might also lay before the reader the judicious observations of Count Bossi on the character of Alexander VI.; but as they tend to confirm rather than to contradict the view which I have taken of it, I shall only refer to them in the second volume of Ital. ed. p. 194.

Note 157 (p. 201).—Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (de Poet. suor. tempor. dialog. 1) informs us that the celebrated Girolamo Vida wrote a Latin poem on this event, entitled, "XIII. Italorum pugilum cum totidem Gallis certamen," which he inscribed to Baldassare Castiglione; but this earnest of the future talents of its author has not been preserved to the present times.—*Vide* Vidæ op. Testimon. 161. Piero Summonte, of Naples, the friend of Sanazzaro, also wrote a copy of Latin verses, addressed to Hettore Fieramosca, which merit perusal. Since the first publication of the present work, a considerable fragment of the poem of Vida, above referred to, has been discovered in MS. at Reggio by Sig. Cagnoli, from which Count Bossi, in his Ital. ed. vol. xii. p. 301, has given the commencement of the poem, as a specimen of this early production of its author.

Note 158 (p. 201).—Guicciardini and Muratori assert, that one of the French combatants, and several of the horses, were killed on the field; but I have preferred the narrative of Summonte, who seems to have been more fully informed of the particulars of this transaction than any other writer.

Note 159 (p. 205).—Notwithstanding the representation given by Bembo of the affection of the subjects of Urbino for their sovereign, he did not recover his dominions without great difficulty. On this occasion Castiglione, who had the command of a company of cavalry in the service of the duke, dislocated his ancle by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which he went to Urbino, where he was most kindly received by the duchess Elizabetta, to whom he was related, and by Madonna Emilia Pia, who resided at that court. His acquaintance with these accomplished women completed what may be called his education, and he became the "Chesterfield" of the age. *Vide* Vita di Bald. Castiglione, p. 11.

Note 160 (p. 206).—The elevation of Julius II. which took place on

the twenty-ninth day of October, has been celebrated in many of the Latin poems of Augurelli, who may be considered as the poet-laureate of that pontiff. From the martial spirit of this pontiff, it was supposed that he had assumed the name of "Julius" in reference to Julius Cæsar.—Mantuani Vincentii Alba, ap. Carm. illustr. Ital. vol. xi. p. 338.

NOTE 161 (p. 208).—Some readers may perhaps be inclined to exclaim,

"Nec lex est justior ulla
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."

But it should be remembered, that although it be a proper cause of exultation, when a villain falls by the consequences of his own crime, it will not follow, that he ought to perish by the crime of another.

NOTE 162 (p. 208).—Jovius, in Vita Gonsalvi, p. 257. Sanazzaro did not, however, omit this opportunity of expressing his joy in his well-known lines:—

"*O Taure*, præsens qui fugis periculum."
Epigr. lib. i. ep. 15.

NOTE 163 (p. 209).—"The count Ferdinando Marescalchi had undertaken a dramatic piece on the subject of Cæsar Borgia, which he thought 'Tragico per eccellenza,' but did not live to complete it. Such of his friends as have seen a portion of it speak highly of its merits."—Note of Count Bossi, Ital. ed. p. 30.

NOTE 164 (p. 210).—The character of Cæsar Borgia is ably and impartially considered in the "General Biography," published by Dr. Aikin, and others, vol. ii. p. 234. London, 1800, 4to. A work, which does not implicitly adopt prescriptive errors, but evinces a sound judgment, a manly freedom of sentiment, and a correct taste.

NOTE 165 (p. 210):—

"Ille diu vixit, qui dum cœlestibus auris
Vescitur, implet onus laudis, cœlumque meretur," &c.

Cæsaris Borgiæ Ducis Epicedium, per Herculem Strozzam. Ald. 1513.

That Cæsar Borgia, like most of the eminent men of his time, aspired to the character of a poet, is considered as highly probable by Crescimbeni. (Della volgar Poesia, vol. v. p. 63.) Quadrio has also, on this authority, enumerated him among his Italian writers.

NOTE 166 (p. 212).—Valerianus informs us that Piero perished in the port of Gaeta and in the presence of his wife; he also bears testimony to his learning and accomplishments.—Valer. de Literator. infelicitate, lib. ii. p. 113. At the same time perished Fabio, the son of Paolo Orsino, a young man of very uncommon endowments, the relation and constant companion of Piero de' Medici. Of his early proficiency and extraordinary talents, Politiano has left an interesting account; lib. xii. ep. ii.; *et vide* Greswell's Memoirs of Politian, &c. p. 145, 2nd ed.

NOTE 167 (p. 212).—This device represented green branches, interwoven together, and placed in the midst of flames, with the motto, "In

viridi teneras exurit flamma medullas." *Vide* Ammir. Ritratti d'huomini illustri di Casa Medici; in Opuscoli, vol. iii. p. 62.

NOTE 168 (p. 212).—"PETRO MEDICI MAGNI LAURENTII F. LEONIS X. PONTIF. MAX. FRATRI CLEMENTIS VII. PATRUELI. QUI QUUM GALLORUM CASTRA SEQUERETUR, EX ADVERSO PRÆLIO AD LYRIS OSTIUM NAUFRAGIO PERIIT. ANNO ÆT. XXXIII. COSMAS MEDICES FLORENT. DUX, PONI CURAVIT. M.D.LII."

NOTE 169 (p. 216).—From a letter of Gregorio Cortese, addressed to the cardinal de' Medici, it appears, that even at this period he had begun to emulate the example of his ancestors, in the promotion of public institutions for religious purposes.

NOTE 170 (p. 217).—He died on the twenty-sixth of January, the very day which he had fixed on for the representation of a comedy for the amusement of the people. *Vide* Girald. Commentarii delle Cose di Ferrara, p. 137.

NOTE 171 (p. 217).—"Alexander VI. in his bull of investiture, applauds the useful labours of Hercules I. which had increased the numbers and happiness of his people, which had adorned the city of Ferrara with strong fortifications and stately edifices, and which had reclaimed a large extent of unprofitable waste. The vague and spreading banks of the Po were confined in their proper channels by moles and dykes, the intermediate lands were converted to pasture and tillage; the fertile district became the granary of Venice, and the corn exports of a single year were exchanged for the value of two hundred thousand ducats." *Vide* Gibbon's Antiq. of Brunswick, in Op. Posth. vol. ii. p. 691.

NOTE 172 (p. 218).—Muratori says, that the cardinal only *attempted* to put out the eyes of Don Giulio; but he justly adds, "con barbarie detestata da ognuno."—Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 34. And Guicciardini admits that he did not lose his sight; or rather he seems to assert, that after his eyes were extruded, they were *replaced again* by a careful hand! —Hist. d'Ital. lib. vii. vol. i. p. 369. Jov. in Vita Alfonsi, p. 154. Gibbon's Antiq. of Brunswick, in Op. Posth. vol. ii. p. 701.

NOTE 173 (p. 219).—This treaty, by which these ambitious rivals agreed to become "tanquam duæ animæ in uno et eodem corpore, amici amicorum, et inimici inimicorum," was concluded at Blois on the twelfth day of October, 1505, and ratified by the king of Spain at Segovia, the sixteenth of the same month. It is preserved in the Collection of Dumont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 72.

NOTE 174 (p. 223).—Jov. in Vita Consalv. lib. iii. p. 275. A similar expression is recorded by Suetonius, of Titus, who, when dying, did not admit more than one act of his life as a subject of serious repentance. —In Vit. cap. x.

NOTE 175 (p. 224).—Jov. *ut sup.* p. 275. How far the peace of Italy was preserved by the conduct of Gonsalvo to Borgia will sufficiently appear in the sequel; and this apology for Gonsalvo would have been equally applicable, if he had extended his treachery to the two sovereigns,

with whom he sat at table, and who were meditating greater calamities to Italy than Borgia could ever have produced. On this subject, I hesitate not to dissent even from the opinion of the liberal De Thou, who informs us that Borgia, "qui nemini fidem servaverat temere se fidei Consalvi permisit; a quo in Hispaniam missus, et *laudabili perfidia* in carcerem conjectus est."—Hist. lib. i. p. 15.

NOTE 176 (p. 229).—A very particular account of these transactions is given by Machiavelli, then the Florentine envoy at Venice, in a report addressed to the magistrates of Florence, which contains many interesting particulars of the state of Germany, and the character of Maximilian. *Vide* Bandini, Coll. vet. moniment. p. 37. Arezzo. 1752.

NOTE 177 (p. 229).—This victory, the most complete that ever d'Alviano obtained, and which was considered as the salvation of the state of Venice, is particularly noticed by Navagero, in his funeral eulogy on that great commander, in which he informs us, that the imperialists "ne nuncio quidem cladis relicto, cæsi sunt."—*Vide* Naugerii Op. ed. Tacuini, 1530, p. 3. It was also celebrated by Giovanni Cotta, who attended d'Alviano on this expedition, in an elegant Latin ode.

NOTE 178 (p. 232).—This treaty is also published in the collection of Dumont, vol. iv. par. i. p. 109. Notwithstanding the apparent treachery and rapacity of the parties to this league, Jean Marot, valet de chambre to Louis XII., represents it as entered into at the request of the goddess of peace, against those disturbers of Christendom, the Venetians.—Œuvres de Jean Marot, vol. iv. p. 63, 4to ed.

NOTE 179 (p. 233).—Bembo, Istor. Venet. lib. vii. in Op. vol. i. p. 189. The French historians affect to justify this fraud, by considering it as a retribution for the deception practised by the senate on the French ambassador Commines, when they formed the league for intercepting Charles VIII. on his return from Italy, and which he has so fully related in his Memoirs. *Vide* Ligue de Cambray, liv. i. vol. i. p. 71.

NOTE 180 (p. 235).—He is called by Guicciardini, "Ciamonte," and by other Italian historians Sciomonte, by which latter name he is mentioned in the earlier editions of this work. The Cav. Rosmini has, on some occasions, denominated him Sciamonte, and at others Chaumont. *Vide* Istor. di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, vol. i. pp. 394, 404.

NOTE 181 (p. 236).—This victory of the French monarch is celebrated by Antonius Sylviolus in a Latin poem entitled "De triumphali atque insigni Christianissimi Invictissimique Francorum Regis Lodovici XII. in Venetos victoria," addressed to George of Amboise, cardinal of Rouen, and printed without note of year or place. This production affords much particular information respecting the circumstances and consequences of this important contest, and is not devoid of poetical merit.

NOTE 182 (p. 236).—The ruins of this edifice, or chapel, yet remain at the distance of a mile and a half from Agnadello, and a mile from Tarlino, a village in the territory of Crema; and the place is called

i Morti della Vittoria.—Rosmini, Istor. di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, vol. i. p. 396.

Note 183 (p. 237).—Marot relates, that on this occasion a wounded Venetian, in the agonies of death, threw five or six gold ducats from his mouth, in consequence of which the French soldiery conceived that the Venetians had swallowed their riches, and cut up four hundred persons.—Œuvres, tom. iv. p. 164.

Note 184 (p. 237).—The Venetian envoy on this occasion was Antonio Giustiniano, to whom Guicciardini has attributed a most humiliating oration, the authenticity of which has been greatly doubted. The author of the History of the League of Cambray has entered at large into this subject.—*Vide* Ligue de Cambray, i. 137, also Murat. x. 47. The oration of Giustiniano is given by Lünig, Cod. Ital. Diplomat. ii. 1999.

Note 185 (p. 238).—About this time, when the humiliation and distresses of Italy were at their height; when the Milanese was occupied by the French, the kingdom of Naples by the Spaniards, and the territories of Venice were divided among its rapacious assailants, Machiavelli wrote his "Capitolo dell' Ambizione," in which he indignantly condemns the imbecility, and pathetically laments the miseries, of his country.

Note 186 (p. 239).—The author of the History of the League of Cambray has placed it on the eighteenth of June, in which he is contradicted by the evidence of the whole body of the Venetian historians, who could not be mistaken in a day which was long afterwards solemnized in Venice as the commencement of the rise of the republic. *Vide* Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 49.

Note 187 (p. 239).—Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 125. Murat. Annali, vol. x. p. 51. It was probably on this occasion that the poet Tebaldeo wrote his Capitolo in the name of the marquis of Mantua, in which that prince is supposed to lament the severity of his fate, and his unmerited misfortunes.—*Vide* Tebald. op. Capit. p. 13. This disaster of the marquis is also referred to by Mantuanus Vicentius, in his poem entitled "Alba," lib. iv. *Vide* Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. xi. p. 342.

Note 188 (p. 240).—The author of the History of the League of Cambray states them at 1,700 men at arms, and 32,000 infantry (Ligue de Camb. lib. i. tom. i. p. 198); but Nardi, who has given the numbers of the particular bodies of the different nations composing the army, states the cavalry to have been more and the infantry less. To these, however, were added two hundred pieces of artillery, besides ten pieces of cannon of extraordinary size, with which Maximilian was furnished by the duke of Ferrara.—Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 126.

Note 189 (p. 241).—The life and achievements of Maximilian have been ostentatiously represented in a series of engravings, designed under his own inspection, by Hans Burgmair, and executed in wood, by the best artists of the time. They are accompanied by descriptions, dictated by Maximilian himself to his secretary, Mark Treitzaurwein. The various employ-

ments of Maximilian, his marriages, his battles, and his treaties, are exhibited in a greater number of prints than would have sufficed for the labours of Hercules, or the conquests of Alexander the Great; but his hunters, his hawkers, his tournaments, and his buffoons, occupy the principal part of the work. This collection he denominates his triumph. The original blocks, or engravings in wood, have only been of late years discovered, and the work was published in 1796, in large folio.

NOTE 190 (p. 243).—In performing this ceremony, the pope being seated in his pontifical robes on the steps of St. Peter's, strikes with a rod the naked shoulders of the ambassadors, in the same manner as a prelate absolves his penitent monks. It was thus that Sixtus IV. released the city of Florence from his interdict; but on this occasion Julius II. dispensed with this humiliating ceremony, and in lieu of it, ordered the envoys to visit the seven churches. *Vide* Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 127.

NOTE 191 (p. 244).—Julius also complained that the duke had entered into an agreement for supplying Lombardy with salt from his mines at Comacchio, to the exclusion of those of the church at Cervia, and required him to relinquish his contract. He also insisted on the duke liberating his brother, Don Ferdinand of Este, whom he yet detained in prison.—*Vide ante*, chap. vii. These demands were, however, considered at the time, as only pretexts for an attack on the states of Ferrara, which Julius had resolved to unite with those of the church. *Vide* Lettere di Leonardo da Porto, in Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 7.

NOTE 192 (p. 244).—It was on this occasion that Julius was said to have thrown into the Tiber the keys of S. Peter, as appears from the following epigram. Pasquill. vol. i. p. 82.

"Cum contra Gallos bellum Papa Julius esset
Gesturus, sicut fama vetusta docet;
Ingentes Martis turmas contraxit, et urbem
Egressus, sævas edidit ore minas.
Iratusque sacras claves in flumina jecit
Tybridis, hic Urbi pons ubi jungit aquas.
Inde manu strictum vagina diripit ensem,
Exclamansque truci talia voce refert;
Hic gladius Pauli nos nunc defendet ab hoste,
Quandoquidem clavis nil juvat ista Petri."

NOTE 193 (p. 246).—The author of the History of the League of Cambray supposes that this was *Bologna*, which had been long held by the Bentivoli; but Muratori has decisively shewn that the place alluded to was *Comacchio*, which was a feud of the empire, and had been held under the imperial investiture by the dukes of Ferrara upwards of one hundred and fifty years.—Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 63.

NOTE 194 (p. 246).—Fresnoy, Méthode pour étudier l'Hist. tom. i. p. 119. Mr. Henke seems to think that it was not so much the ecclesiastical power of the pope at which Maximilian aimed, as the appropriating to himself the ancient Roman Imperial dignity, to which that of the pontificate also appertained.—*Vide* Germ. ed. vol. i. p. 455. Count Bossi

has also thrown additional light on this subject in an excellent note, where he has given a striking character of Maximilian. *Vide* Ital. ed. vol. iii. p. 206.

Note 195 (p. 247).—21st Jan. 1511. Murat. Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 65. Of the magnanimous conduct of the countess Francesca on this occasion, the Cav. Rosmini has, in his Life of her father, given a full account. He has also published a letter from Trivulzio to Louis XII. in which is the following anecdote respecting her, which is here given in his own words: "Sire, je vous vueil compter le beau recueil qu'il ont faict à ma dite fille. Le cardinal de Pavie, pour ce qu'ils est son compère, la manda venir devers le pape, et quant elle y baisa le piè, le dict cardinal lui dit: Estez vous la femmelle qui vouliez garder ceste ville contre le pape? Elle lui respondit: Contre vous, je l'eusse bien gardée, mais contre le pape je n'ai peu." *Vide* Rosmini, 1st di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, vol. i. cap. ix. p. 415; vol. ii. p. 300.

Note 196 (p. 248).—This statue, which was raised at the expense of five thousand gold ducats (Murat. Annali, vol. x. p. 67), gave rise to the following satirical lines of Piero Valeriano:—

"Quo quo tam trepidus fugis, Viator,
Ac si te Furiæve, Gorgonesve,
Aut acer Basiliscus insequantur?
—Non hic Julius—at figura Julii est."
Valer. Hexam. &c. p. 104. Ed. Giol. 1550.

Note 197 (p. 248).—The Cav. Rosmini has represented this as *a signal victory* obtained by Trivulzio, who sent an account of it on the same day (22nd May, 1511), to Louis XII., stating, "that it was not less glorious to the king than the conquest of Milan itself."—Rosmini, vol. i. p. 429. Rosmini has also quoted the authority of Varellas, who speaks highly of the "Victory of Bologna," and says, that "all antiquity could not present a parallel to it."—Ibid. p. 430. But the fact is, that the papal troops having, on the surrender of Bologna, been deserted by their commander, the duke of Urbino, took to flight, and were attacked and pursued in their disorderly retreat by both the Bolognese and the French, who plundered them of all their military stores and equipage. See the full account of it in Guicciardini (lib. ix.), whose authority is indisputable, as a contemporary writer intimately acquainted with all the events of the times, and who speaks of it as a *victory* obtained *without a combat*.

Note 198 (p. 249).—The efforts of Julius II. to possess himself, either by force or fraud, of the city of Ferrara, and the various incidents of this expedition, with the death of the cardinal of Pavia, are fully related by Leonardo da Porto, in the letter before cited, written from Venice, to Antonio Savorgano; in which will be found many circumstances either differently related, or wholly omitted by the historians of the time. *Vide* Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 9.

Note 199 (p. 249).—Paulus Jovius has, however, attacked the memory of the unfortunate cardinal with a ferocity equal to that with which the

duke of Urbino attacked his person; and not only justifies, but exults in his murder.—Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. v. p. 434.

NOTE 200 (p. 251).—This treaty is published in Rymer's Federa, vol. vi. p. 25, and in the collection of Dumont, vol. iv. part i. p. 137. This alliance was warmly opposed by some of the English council, who more seriously weighed the business, one of whom made a remark which, as Lord Herbert justly observes, ENGLAND SHOULD NEVER FORGET. "Let us," said he, "leave off our attempts against the terra firma. The natural situation of islands seems not to sort with conquests in that kind. England alone is a just empire; or when we would enlarge ourselves, let it be that way we can, and to which it seems the eternal Providence hath destined us, and that is by SEA."—Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 18, ed. Lond. 1740.

NOTE 201 (p. 252).—Soon after the appointment of the cardinal to this dignity, he was applied to by the poet Ariosto, to exercise his dispensing power in granting him *tria incompatibilia*, or allowing him to enjoy certain ecclesiastical revenues, without entering for a limited time into sacred orders. This proof of the early intimacy which subsisted between the poet and the cardinal, is given in App. No. V.

NOTE 202 (p. 257).—The celebrated Bayard, *le Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, who had accompanied the armies of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. into Italy, was present at the capture of Brescia, and gave a proof of that magnanimity which always distinguished his character, in refusing to receive, from the daughters of his hostess, a sum of two thousand pistoles which their mother had collected to save her house from plunder.—Moreri, art. Bayard.

NOTE 203 (p. 262).—His body was brought to Milan, and deposited with pompous ceremonies in the cathedral; but on the subsequent expulsion of the French from Milan, the cardinal of Sion ordered it to be disinterred, as the remains of a person excommunicated, and sent it to be privately buried in the church of the monastery of S. Martha. On the recovery of Milan by the French, in the year 1515, a magnificent tomb was erected to the memory of this young warrior, by Agostino Busti, a Milanese sculptor, consisting of a figure of de Foix as large as life, and ten pieces of sculpture in marble, most exquisitely finished, representing the various battles in which he had been engaged. This monument remained till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was suffered to be demolished, and the ornaments were carried away. *Vide* Vasari, Giunti, vol. i. p. 51; vol. ii. p. 180; vol. iii. p. 31. Ligue de Camb. vol. ii. p. 149. The death of de Foix is commemorated in the following lines of Antonio Franc. Raineri:—

DE GASTONE FOXIO.

"Funera quis memoranda canat, clademque Ravennæ
Et tua, summe Ducum, facta, obitumque simul?
Ingentes cum tu incedens per corporum acervos,
Jam victor strage, heu, concidis in media.

Gallica sensere Hesperii quam vivida virtus,
Sensere, ultrici cum cecidere manu.
Sic obitu, juvenis, Decios imitaris; et armis
Sic geminos, belli fulmina, Scipiados."
Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. vol. viii. p. 60.

NOTE 204 (p. 268).—The proceedings of the council of Lateran were collected by the cardinal di Monte, and published at Rome in the year 1521. The first act, on opening the session, adverts in a particular manner to the battle of Ravenna and the captivity of the cardinal de' Medici.

NOTE 205 (p. 271).—Of this, the massacre committed by his directions, and under his own eye, at Peschiera, in the year 1509, and his conduct to Bartolommeo d'Alviano, whom he retained prisoner in France for many years, may serve, if others were wanting, as sufficient proofs.

NOTE 206 (p. 274).—Jovius, in Vita Leon. X. lib. ii. p. 49. This escape of the cardinal de' Medici is considered by Egidius of Viterbo as *miraculous*.—Ep. ad Seraphinum, in tom. iii. vet. monument. ap. Brandolini, Leo. p. 87. The name of *Anda*, *Ande*, or *Andes*, no longer remains; but Count Bossi has sufficiently shewn that this villa was precisely the site of the present *Pietole*, about two miles from Mantua; at a little distance from which is an ancient palace, formerly belonging to the Marchesi Gonzaga, where the cardinal de' Medici found a secure retreat.—*Vide* Ital. ed. vol. iii. p. 220. The Cav. Rosmini informs us, that the story of the liberation of the cardinal was painted on the walls of the saloon in the palace of the Marchesi Isimbardi at Cairo, where it yet remains, with the following inscription :—

"Tibi vero, Octaviane Isimbarde, Florentia Mediceum, Italæ Heroem, orbis Leonem X. debent; quem scilicet profligati apud Ravennam fœderatorum exercitus, Legatum et Captivum ad Bassignanam, fugatis Gallicis turmis Ecclesiæ dexteram futurum aliquando reddidisti."

Some time after his attainment to the pontificate (20th August, 1516), Leo X. granted a bull of plenary indulgence to all who should visit the collegiate church at Cairo, on two certain days of the year, in which he refers to the circumstances of his escape, and particularly to the assistance of Rinaldo Zazzi. *Vide* Rosmini, vol. i. p. 450.

NOTE 207 (p. 274).—The oration on the part of the citizens of Parma, made by Giacomo Bajardo, one of their ambassadors to the pope, has been preserved in the archives of the Vatican. On the same occasion, Francesco Maria Grapaldo addressed a copy of Latin verses to Julius II. *as the liberator of Italy*, for which it appears that Julius honoured him with the title of *poet-laureate*. Some account of Grapaldo and his various writings may be found in Affo, Scrittori Parmigiani, vol. iii. p. 136.

NOTE 208 (p. 282).—One of these is that of a young lady, who, to preserve her chastity, precipitated herself from the balcony of the house

into the street, and perished by the fall. Another is a transaction of a much more equivocal nature. The wife of an artificer, having been compelled by a soldier to accompany him for several years, at length found an opportunity of revenging herself on her ravisher, by cutting his throat as he lay asleep; after which she returned to her husband at Prato, bringing with her five hundred gold ducats, which she presented to him as a recompense for her violated chastity.—Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. v. p. 149.

NOTE 209 (p. 291).—The life and actions of Julius II. are sarcastically reprehended in the dialogue entitled "Julius exclusis," in the second volume of the collection of the Pasquillades, p. 125. Julius applies to be admitted into paradise; but S. Peter not recognizing him, he is obliged to give an account of his transactions in this life. This not satisfying the apostle, he still refuses to admit him, and Julius threatens to besiege and make war upon heaven. Erasmus was suspected of being the author of this attack on the memory of the pontiff: but in a letter to cardinal Campegio, he vindicates himself with great warmth from the accusation, "Ineptiit quisquis scripsit," says he, "at majore supplicio dignus, quisquis evulgavit."—Erasm. Ep. lib. xii. ep. l.

NOTE 210 (p. 292).—In particular Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli has devoted to the praises of Julius II. several of his Iambics, and other poems, at the close of his works, published by Aldus, 1505. And Lorenzo Parmenio, *Custode* of the Vatican library, has celebrated the actions of this pontiff in a poem, which has lately been published. —Anecd. Rom. tom. iii. Tirab. vol. vi. par. iii. p. 201.

NOTE 211 (p. 294).—PIETRO BEMBO TO JULIUS II.

Bembi Ep. Fam. liv. v. ep. viii. in Op. tom. iv.

"In the acquisition of the volume lately sent to you from Dacia, written in beautiful characters, but such as are in our days unintelligible, I perceive an additional instance of the perpetual good fortune which has always attended you, and which, whilst in the administration of public affairs, and the direction of the concerns of the universe, it has enabled you to surpass the expectations of all men, has never failed to add to your reputation, even in matters of less importance. For after you had intrusted this book to me, that I might endeavour to decipher the characters, and inform you of the result, and I had begun to turn over and carefully to inspect its pages, I could not help entertaining more confident hopes of success in my undertaking from the circumstance of its being enjoined by you, than from the facility of the task, which appeared indeed impracticable, or from my own industry. In the course of a minute examination of the whole manuscript, I observed at the foot of one of the pages, a line written in common letters, but almost erased and obliterated, from which I collected that the volume was written in ancient notes or characters, such as were used by those persons who were denominated notaries; and that the work itself was a portion of the commentary of Hyginus, 'de Syderibus.' On discovering this line, it immediately occurred to me that this was the Ciceronian method of writing; for I

recollected that Plutarch has informed us, that the profession of those who were called notaries took its origin from Cicero, who had invented a series of marks, each of which represented a combination of letters, and that he had instructed his copyists in this art, who were thus enabled to note down during the time of delivery, in a small compass, and in a legible form, for his use, the speeches of any of the senators which he wished to preserve. It was by this means, Plutarch adds, that the oration which Cato pronounced against the Catiline conspirators in opposition to the opinion of Cæsar, had been handed down to his time. I also recollect that not only Plutarch, but Valerius Martial has remarked, that the ancients were accustomed to make use of notaries for the sake of expedition in writing, and his celebrated verses on this subject yet remain. Ausonius likewise commemorates in his verses a boy, who with the aid of a few characters took down a long discourse during the time of recitation. Prudentius, in a poem on the martyrdom of Cassianus, has recorded that the latter had established an academy, in which children were taught the use of these characters. Having therefore compared another copy of Hyginus written in our usual manner, with this Dacian manuscript, I have been enabled to explain the sense and signification of many of these marks, the meaning of which is changed, not only by the variation of the marks themselves, but in some degree even by the punctuation; although in such a definite and regular form, that if any one would take the trouble, it does not apppear to me very difficult to reduce it to a system, and once more restore it to general use. This discovery afforded me great pleasure, as I conceived I should give you complete satisfaction on this head; and this pleasure was in some degree increased by the consideration, that although several distinguished and learned men of the present times had, at your desire, endeavoured to explain this work, their attempts had been wholly fruitless. As a favourable opportunity thus offers itself of extending your fame in the literary world, and securing the applause of future times, I entreat you not to neglect it, but to devote some portion of your extensive talents, which are sufficiently capacious to embrace and comprehend all subjects, in recovering this mode of writing, by intrusting it to skilful printers, if such are to be found, as they certainly are, to be by them made public. For what indeed can be more honourable to your reputation, or more advantageous to the studies of the learned, than to restore, by your pious attention, an art invented by Cicero, and long held in great esteem for its acknowledged utility: but which, through the injuries of time, has for a long course of time been wholly lost. Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, are commended for their diligence in collecting books for the celebrated libraries which they formed; and it has always been considered as praiseworthy, even in the greatest characters, and in those possessed of supreme authority, to promote literary studies, and to supply materials for those talents which are devoted to the cultivation of the liberal arts. This diligence you have yourself emulated, in having added another library to the celebrated collection formed by your predecessors in the Vatican; not indeed distinguished by the number of its volumes, but by their high value and perfect preservation; and rendered much more

pleasant for the use of the pontiffs, by the commodiousness and beauty of the place, and the elegant ornaments of statues, pictures, and mirrors, with which it is embellished. For my own part, I confess I do not see in what manner you can confer greater ornament, greater elegance, or even greater authority, on this, your library, than by recalling to light the invention of this almost divine man, and restoring his art of writing. For, although it has always been your character not to devote your attention to any objects but those which you have endeavoured with such constant perseverance, incredible expense, and immense labours and danger, to accomplish, and by which the Roman republic intrusted to your care might maintain its supreme authority, yet it is due from your prudence, and your piety, not to neglect that which relates to the study of literature; for in those studies are involved many things of no inconsiderable importance to the ornament and convenience of human life."

NOTE 212 (p. 297).—"GAUDIUM MAGNUM NUNTIO VOBIS; PAPAM HABEMUS, REVERENDISSIMUM DOMINUM JOANNEM DE MEDICIS, DIACONUM CARDINALEM SANCTÆ MARIÆ IN DOMENICA; QUI VOCATUS LEO DECIMUS." On this occasion Giovan-Francesco Superchio, better known by the name of Philomusus, addressed to the pontiff a poem, entitled, "Sylva et Exultatio in Creatione Pont. Max. Leonis decimi."—Carm. Ill. Poet. Ital. vol. vii. p. 172.

NOTE 213 (p. 298).—"On pretend qu'il n'y eut rien qui contribuât davantage à l'élever à la papauté, que les blessures qu'il avoit reçues dans les combats vénériens."—Bayle, Dict. Hist. in art. Leon. X. This insinuation is founded by Bayle on the equivocal authority of Varillas (Anecdotes de Florence, lib. vi. p. 235); an author whose falsehoods and absurdities he has himself on other occasions sufficiently exposed; and on the opinion of Seckendorff (Comm. de Luth. lib. i. sec. xlvii. p. 190). But even the narrative of Varillas will not justify the licentious terms in which Bayle has expressed himself on this occasion. This he indeed in some degree confesses: "J'observe que ce n'est que par *des conséquences qui ne sont pas absolument nécessaires*, que l'on peut trouver, dans les paroles de M. Varillas, les sens que j'ai rapporté, et que *M. de Seckendorff leur donne.*" To which acknowledgment I must further add, that even M. de Seckendorff, although a Protestant writer, and particularly hostile to the character of Leo X., has *not given* to the passage of Varillas the sense for which Bayle contends, but merely informs us, that Leo X. "laborabat fœdissimo ulcere in inguine," without attempting to account further for the cause of it. It appears from Jovius to have been an abscess; a decease with which the pontiff was frequently afflicted during the remainder of his life.

NOTE 214 (p. 298).—Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 32. Mr. Henke has also cited a letter from Count Alberto Pio of Carpi (*vide ante*, chap. ii.), one of the Italian nobility who was present at the elevation of Leo X., giving a full account of the circumstances attending that ceremony, with his opinion of the character of the new pontiff, which was justified in a very remarkable manner by subsequent events. His words are: "Opi-

nione mea pontifex maximus potius erit mitis, ut agnus, quam ferox, ut Leo; pacis erit cultor magis quam belli; erit fidei promissorumque servator religiosus; amicus Gallorum certe non erit; sed nec acer hostis, ut fuerat *Julius*: gloriam et honorem non negliget; favebit literatis, hoc est, oratoribus, poetis, et musicis; ædificia construet; rem sacram religiose peraget, nec ditionem ecclesiasticam negliget; bellum non suscipiet, nisi plurimum lacessitus et valde coactus, excepto bello contra infideles; si quid incipiet illud perficere conabitur; permodestus erit, et valde facilis; hæc de eo hucusque conjectari possunt; tamen homines mutant in horas, et *ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.*"—Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 51.

NOTE 215 (p. 299).—An instance of this may be found in the interpretation said to have been given to a mutilated inscription in the church of the Vatican, in which the name of Nicholas V. had been obliterated, and the characters of the year only remained, M.CCCC.XL., which it seems were interpreted, in allusion to the defect in the pontiff's sight, MULTI CÆCI CARDINALES CREAVERE CÆCUM DECIMUM LEONEM.—*Vide* Fabr. Adnot. p. 270.

NOTE 216 (p. 299).—The custom of changing the name of the Roman pontiff is said to have arisen from Sergius II. in the year 844. "Sunt qui Sergium primo quidem *Os porci* appellatum fuisse dicant, et ob turpitudinem cognomenti *Sergii* nomen sumpsisse; eamque consuetudinem ad nostros manasse; ut qui pontifices crearentur, suorum omisso majorum nomine, sibi indicent, licet ab omnibus non sit observatum."—Platina, in Vita *Sergii*.

NOTE 217 (p. 300).—"Inde ad Aulam ascensum, et pro lotione pedum pauperum, quæ facta est ad unguem, prout in meo ordinario, nisi quod papa non voluit suos digitos pollices in forma crucis super pedibus pauperum positos osculari, ut alii pontifices facere consueverant, præsertim Julius II. sed ipsos pedes totos osculabatur, dicens, quod illud mysterium non ficte fieri debet."—P. de Grass. MS. inedit.

NOTE 218 (p. 301).—Giovan-Giacomo Penni, a Florentine physician, who was present in Rome on this occasion, has given a very circumstantial account of this splendid ceremonial, which he inscribed to Contessina de' Medici, the wife of Piero Ridolfi, and sister of the pontiff. To this piece, which was printed at Rome in the year 1513, and is now of extreme rarity, I have been indebted for many of the preceding particulars.

NOTE 219 (p. 303).—

LEONI X. PACIS RESTITUTORI FELICISSIMO.
VIRTUTIS ALUMNO FORTUNÆQUE DOMATORI.
LEONI X. PACIS ATQUE ARTIUM LAUDATORI.
VIVE PIE, UT SOLITUS; VIVE DIU, UT MERITUS.
LEO X. PONT. MAX. VINCENDO SEIPSUM OMNIA SUPERAVIT.
SUPPLICES GENEROSÆ EXAUDIO—IN SUPERBOS IRAM EXERCEO.
VOTA DEUM LEO UT ABSOLVAS HOMINUMQUE SECUNDES.
OLIM HABUIT CYPRIS SUA TEMPORA; TEMPORA MAVORS
OLIM HABUIT; NUNC SUA TEMPORA PALLAS HABET.
MARS FUIT; EST PALLAS; CYPRIA SEMPER ERO.

Of the singular ingenuity and extraordinary splendour of the exhibitions at Florence on this occasion, a particular account is preserved by Vasari, in his life of Jacopo da Puntormo, "Vite de' Pittori," vol. ii. p. 645. The preparation of these spectacles employed the talents of the first artists and most distinguished scholars of the time.

NOTE 220 (p. 305).—On this occasion one of the Florentine historians makes a homely, but striking remark, "Tanto è odioso a' governatori il poco fallire d'un delinquente, quanto al naso d'un troppo delicato padrone, il puzzo del fiato del servidore che abbia mangiato uno sol spicchio, come uno intero capo d'aglio."—Nardi, Hist. Fior. p. 160.

NOTE 221 (p. 308).—This treaty, which bears date the 1st of April, 1513, is given in Rymer, Fœdera, vi. par. i. p. 40. The names of the king of England and of the emperor elect were inserted wholly without their knowledge; and it must have appeared, as Guicciardini observes, highly ridiculous, that on the very day that it was published in Spain, a herald arrived from Henry VIII. to announce his hostile preparations against France, and to require the assistance of Ferdinand, under his prior engagement for that purpose.—Guicciard. lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 34.

NOTE 222 (p. 310).—Guicciardini only informs us, that the pope sent to the king, "Cinthio, sua familiare, con una lettera con *umane commissioni*, ma tanto general i che arguivano non avere l'animo inclinato a lui" (lib. xi. vol. ii. p. 37); which sufficiently agrees with the tenor of the letter as yet preserved. But the author of the "Ligue de Cambray" informs us, that the envoy of the pope, "assura le Roi, de la parte du pape, que sa Saintété étoit l'héritier des sentiments respectueux de la maison de Médicis pour la couronne de France; que son père Laurent n'avoit eu, ni plus d'inclination, ni plus de vénération, que lui, pour les Rois très Chrétiens: mais que Pape depuis un mois, *il ne pouvoit pas rompre en un jour les engagements solemnels où son prédécesseur avoit jetté le saint Siège. Que son intention étoit bien de changer de parti, et de se ranger du côté du Roi; mais qu'une pareille révolution étoit un ouvrage de longue haleine pour un souverain électif*," &c.—Ligue de Camb. liv. iv. tom. ii. 284. If Leo had not more honesty, he had certainly more good sense, than to disgrace himself by language of this nature; which can only serve to amuse those who read history as a romance.

NOTE 223 (p. 312).—The Cav. Rosmini has sufficiently shewn that Trivulzio held a co-ordinate authority with the duke (Storia di Gian-Giacopo Trivulzio, vol. i. p. 468); but the honour obtained by them in the contest that ensued is scarcely worth apportioning with accuracy.*

NOTE 224 (p. 318).—It was on the occasion of this marriage, which finally produced the union of the two crowns and kingdoms, that Dunbar wrote his celebrated poem of "The Thistle and the Rose." *Vide* Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 257.

NOTE 225 (p. 319).—On the part of the Scots, there fell, besides the king, an archbishop, two bishops, four abbots, twelve earls, and seventeen barons, with eight or ten thousand common soldiers.—Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. p. 18.

Note 226 (p. 319).—His body was inclosed in a coffin of lead, and conveyed to London ; but as James died excommunicate, it could not be buried without a dispensation from the pope, which at the request of Henry VIII. Leo granted, under the pretext that James had, in his last moments, shewn some signs of contrition, such as his circumstances would admit of.—Rymer, Fœdera, vol. vi. par. i. p. 53.

Note 227 (p. 320).—This victory was also celebrated in an Italian poem of 133 stanzas in ottava rima, entitled La Rotta de' Scocesi ; printed without note of date or place, but certainly shortly after the event occurred. The author seems to have been well acquainted with the circumstances attending the battle, the particulars of which he has related in such verses as the following :—

" Vedeasi a un tratto tante arme callare
Che un bosco a basso ruinar pareva ;
Tanta gente in un tratta traboccare,
Che nel lo Octobre tante non si leva
Foglie, & già tanto sangue roversciare
Che lo aier, non ch'l prato se tingeva,
Et era certo gran compassione,
Veder tal sangue, & cader di persone."

The prowess of king James is thus described :

" Jacobi haveva una lancia arrestata,
Massizza, dura, ben nervata, & forte,
Et venia avanti a briglia abbandonata,
Per poner l'inimici a mala sorte :
E innanzi che habbia questa hasta spezzata
A più di cinque fe sentir la morte
Poi pose al brando tagliente la mano
Et getta quanti ne riscontra al piano."

A copy of this curious piece is in the collection of Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. to whom I am indebted for the use of it.*—Bemb. Epist. Pont. lib. v. ep. 19.

Note 228 (p. 323).—Respecting this battle there exists an authentic document in the possession of Benjamin Heywood Bright, Esq. being a printed letter from the Spanish general Cardona to the cardinal of Gurck, the pope's legate, dated at Vicenza the 8th day of October, 1513, giving a particular account of the operations preceding and attending it, enumerating the principal nobility killed or taken prisoners, and stating that the Venetians lost upwards of four thousand soldiers, besides an infinite number of peasants.

In the same collection is a contemporary poem on the same subject, entitled,

La Rota de' Venetiani fatta novamente a dì VII. de Octobre M.D.XIII.

It consists of sixty-three stanzas in ottava rima, and recounts the circumstances of the battle in an interesting and particular manner, although in

a rude and incorrect style. The name of the author (real or fictitious) is thus given at the close,

" Composta per l'auctore Perusino di la Rotunda."

It is without name of either place or printer.*—Murat. x. p. 103.

NOTE 229 (p. 326).—From these documents, which have been published by Cartharius " in Syllabo advocatorum Sacri Consistorii," p. 71, it appears that Leo declared Giulio de' Medici, then archbishop elect of Florence, " legitimum, et ex legitimo matrimonio inter Julianum Mediceum et *Floretlam* Antonii natum fuisse et esse; eumque pro legitimo et ex legitimo matrimonio procreatum, in omnibus, et per omnia, pleno jure, vere et non ficte, haberi et reputari," &c.—Fabron. in Adnotat. 31, ad Vit. Leon. X. p. 275.

NOTE 230 (p. 328).—Among other proofs of his humane and benevolent disposition, it may be noticed, that he paid a visit to the celebrated Florentine commander, Antonio Giacomino Tebalducci, whose services had been employed by the republic in constant opposition to the Medici, but who was now advanced in years and deprived of sight. The old warrior, whilst he acknowledged the kindness of Giuliano, boldly avowed, that his exertions had not been wanting to preserve the liberties of his country, and requested that he might not be deprived of the arms which he retained in his house as trophies of his victories, a request to which Giuliano willingly acceded, with high commendations of his courage and fidelity. His conduct to Giovacchino Guasconi, who was Gonfaloniere when Paolo Vitelli was executed at Florence, was not less conciliating and benevolent. *Vide* Nardi, Hist. Fior. liv. vi. p. 158.

NOTE 231 (p. 332).—Leo X. found no little difficulty in curbing the military ardour of the English monarch, as appears not only from the letter before given, but from a particular exhortation addressed to him on this subject. App. No. IX.

NOTE 232 (p. 336).—Count Bossi professes to differ from me in opinion, as to the absolute extinction of learning in Rome at the period referred to; and has cited many instances of persons eminent for their learning who lived in these turbulent times: but I have made no such assertion; on the contrary, I have here stated that the cause of literature was supported, to a certain extent, by several men of ability, although their pursuits were not of the highest order. Of several of these Count Bossi has added some interesting anecdotes. *Vide* Ital. ed. vol. iv. pp. 91, 158, 159; vol. xii. p. 218.*

NOTE 233 (p. 336).—Fedro Inghirami, one of the members of this learned body, writes thus, in the year 1506, to his friend Andrea Umiliato: " —— advola obsecro et accurre, si vis ridere quantum et Democritus numquam risit. *Savoja* unguenta tractat et Cyprium pulverem; pulverem, inquam, Cyprium et unguenta tractat *Savoja*. Qui antea bubulcitari tantum solebat, bubus equisque stipatus vadebat, nunc delicatus Myropolas adit, deque odoribus disputat. Nam quid ego narrem tibi Hispanicas manicas, Gallicas vestes, Germanas soleas," &c.—Ap. Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 127.

NOTE 234 (p. 336).—Among these, the most distinguished was the beautiful Imperia, so frequently celebrated in the Latin odes of Beroaldo the younger, and in the verses of Sadoleti. Of the splendour with which she received her visitors, an ample account is given by Bandello in his novels. Such was the elegance of her apartments, that when the ambassador of the Spanish monarch paid her a visit, he turned round and spat in the face of one of his servants, excusing himself by observing that it was the only place he could find fit for the purpose.—*Vide* Bandello, par. iii. nov. 42. Her toilet was surrounded with books, both in Italian and Latin, and she also amused herself in writing poetry, in the study of which she was a disciple of Niccolò Compano, called *Strascino*, who was probably indebted to her for the subject of one of his poems, "Sopra il male incognito."—*Vide* Life of Lor. de' Med. She died in the year 1511, at the age of twenty-six, and was allowed to be buried in consecrated ground, in the chapel of S. Gregorio, with the following Epitaph:

Imperia, Cortisana Romana, quæ digna tanto nomine, raræ inter homines formæ Specimen dedit. Vixit annos xxvi. *dies* xii.
Obiit 1511 *die* 15 *Augusti.*

She left a daughter, who redeemed her name from disgrace by a life of unimpeachable modesty, and who destroyed herself by poison, to avoid the licentious attempts of the cardinal Petrucci. *Vide* Colloci, Poesie Ital. p. 29. Note. Ed. Jesi. 1772.

NOTE 235 (p. 337).—Joannis Francisci Philomusi, Exultatio in Creatione Leonis X. &c. Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. vii. p. 172. Mr. Henke has observed that this poem breathes a noble sentiment, which rises far above the Italian spirit of the times, and which perhaps even the pope himself was not prepared for. It augurs from his elevation not only the most glorious results to the arts, but also (and that with the most impressive earnestness) to morals and religion.—Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 233.

NOTE 236 (p. 338).—Andr. Fulvius, de Antiquitatibus Urbis. Carm. Illustr. Poet. Ital. tom. v. p. 229. "The first plan of this Gymnasium, or Archigymnasium, was however in contemplation by Boniface VIII. as his bull of 1303, in Cherubini, Bullar. tom. i. p. 140, shews. The fullest account of this foundation is given by Jos. Catalfi, de Gymnasio Romano, et de ejus Professoribus, &c. Rom. 1751, vol. i. ii. 4to. by Kirzer Paulini a S. Josepho Orat. de Archigym. Rom. printed at Rome, 1727, and at Leipsig, 1728."—Note of Mr. Henke, Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 107.

NOTE 237 (p. 339).—This singular document, which yet remains, is elegantly written on vellum, and highly ornamented with the papal arms, and allegorical figures of the sciences and arts. Its contents were given to the public in the year 1797, by the learned Abate Gaetano Marini, keeper of the archives in the castle of S. Angelo, who has accompanied it with a brief account of the re-establishment of the Roman academy, and with historical and biographical notices of the professors. For a more particular account I am compelled, by the limits of this work, to

refer to the before-mentioned publication, entitled "Lettera dell' Abate Gaetano Marini al chiarissimo Monsignor Guiseppe Muti Papazurri già Casali, nella quale s' illustra il Ruolo de' professori dell' Archiginnasio Romano per l'anno MDXIV. In Roma presso Michele Puccinelli a Tor Sanguigna. 1797."

NOTE 238 (p. 339).—In admitting that this was probably the *first public establishment* for botanical pursuits, Count Bossi has cited several works on that subject which had before been published, and to which considerable additions might be made.—Ital. ed. vol. iv. p. 96. Note (*a*).*

NOTE 239 (p. 341).—Mr. Warton informs us, on the authority of Jovius, that Lascar "made a voyage into Greece, by command of Leo X. and brought with him some Greek boys, who were to be educated in the college which that pope had founded on Mount Quirinal; and who were intended to propagate the genuine and native pronunciation of the Greek tongue."—Hist. Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 429, note (*y*). But Mr. Warton has either mistaken or been misled by his authority, as Lascar continued to superintend the Greek establishment at Rome till the year 1518, when he returned, probably in a public character, to France.

NOTE 240 (p. 342).—Jovius, or his translator, informs us that Musurus was appointed archbishop of Ragusa. (Iscritt. p. 62.) Into which error he was probably led by not being aware that there are two places in Europe called, in Latin, *Epidaurus*; viz. *Ragusa* in Dalmatia, and *Malvasia* in the Morea; of the latter of which Musurus was archbishop. The see of Ragusa was at this time filled by Giovanni de Volterra.—*Vide* Agostini, Notizie di Batt. Egnazio, ap. Calogerà Opusc. vol. xxxiii. p. 23. Tiraboschi places the promotion of Musurus about 1517, adding, that he enjoyed his dignity but a short time, having died in the autumn of the *same year*.—Storia della Lett. Ital. vol. vii. par. i. p. 424. It is, however, certain, that the promotion of Musurus took place in or before the year 1516, as appears from the preface to the Aldine edition of Pausanius, published in the last-mentioned year. That he did not live long to enjoy his dignity, may, however, be conjectured from his epitaph at Rome:—

MUSURE, O MANSURE PARUM, PROPERATA TULISTI
PRÆMIA; NAMQUE CITO TRADITA, RAPTA CITO.

NOTE 241 (p. 342).—He was a native of Sparta, and had been the friend and fellow-student of Marullus at Naples, whom he also emulated in the composition of Latin epigrams: "— uterque epigrammatum Poeta," says Giraldi, "sed Rhallo Marullus cultior argutiorque, Marullo Rhallus fortunatior, quippe qui a Leone X. his mensibus Cretensium sit pontificatu honestatus."—Gir. de Poet. suor. temp. Politiano denominates him "Græcus homo sed latinis literis adprime excultus."—Miscel. c. lxxiii. Hodius, de Græc. Illustr. p. 293.

NOTE 242 (p. 346).—Fabroni, after noticing this privilege granted by Leo to Aldo, adds, "Ut vero gratum animum suum Aldus Pontifici declararet, eidem nuncupavit editionem Platonis, etc." From which it would seem as if the dedication of Plato to Leo X. was addressed to him

by Aldus, in consequence of this favour; the reverse of which seems, however, to have been the fact, as the dedication bears date in September, and the privilege in November, 1513. This privilege was published by Aldo in his edition of the Commentaries of Nicolo Perotti, entitled "Cornucopiæ." Ven. 1513.

Note 243 (p. 346).—Of these, Maittaire has enumerated, besides the "Anthologia" and "Callimachus," an edition of four of the tragedies of Euripides, the "Gnomæ Monostichoi," and the "Argonautics" of Apollonius Rhodius; which are all the works he had met with printed in capitals (Annal. Typog. vol. i. p. 101); but it must be observed, that some of them were printed after the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, and when it is probable that Lascar had quitted that city to accompany Charles VIII. on his return to France.

Note 244 (p. 348).—Valer. de Literator. infel. lib. ii. p. 150. If we may believe this author, who has aspersed or ridiculed most of the learned men of his time, Cornelio, at an advanced age, attempted to console himself by paying his addresses to a lady of rank, and being repulsed, died of love!—Ibid.

Note 245 (p. 349).—This edition of Calliergo is denominated by the celebrated Reiske, in his "Theocritus" (Vien. et Leips. 1765), "Editio præstantissima, et exemplar omnium insecutarum: nisi si quid Henricus Stephanus ab hoc exemplo discessit. Explevit enim Zacharias Aldinæ lacunas, et non pauca carmina bucolicorum Græcorum, quæ ad Aldi manus non pervenerant addidit; neque fuit post Zachariam qui Theocritum nova quadam accessione locupletaret," &c.—In præf. p. 12. It is surprising that the indefatigable Tiraboschi should not only have omitted to notice the efforts of Leo X. and of his coadjutors and competitors, in their attempts to establish a Greek typography in Rome, but should expressly have attributed its introduction to the liberality of the cardinals Marcello Cervini and Alessandro Farnese, about the year 1539, whilst such decisive monuments remain of its commencement and success under the auspices of Leo X. at a much earlier period.—*Vide* Tirab. vol. vii. par. i. p. 183. Maittaire, Ann. Typ. in dedicat. Several other works printed by Calliergo are enumerated by Count Bossi, Ital. ed. vol. iv. p. 115, &c. among which is one entitled, "Præclara dicta Philosophorum, Imperatorum Oratorumq. et Poetarum ab Arsenio Archiepiscopo Monembasiæ collecta," supposed to be printed in 1515, with a dedication to Leo X. of which Count Bossi possesses a splendid copy, which appears to have been presented by the author himself to Francesco de' Medici. This collection was begun by Michael Apostolius, the father of Arsenius, and of another son, Aristobulus, who was also a distinguished scholar, and author of one of the Greek epigrams prefixed to the "Thesaurus Cornucopiæ" of Varinus Camers hereafter mentioned. I shall here observe, that there exists in the MS. library at Holkham several tracts of Michael Apostolius hitherto unpublished, and a collection of forty-five letters addressed to Gemisthus Pletho, Michael Marullus, Johannes Argyropylus, Manuel Chrysoloras, Card. Bessarion, and other learned men of the time.

NOTE 246 (p. 349).—Pol. Ep. lib. vii. ep. 2, ad Mac. Mutium. Zeno, on the authority of Ughelli, and the erroneous construction of the sepulchral inscription of Varino, had asserted, that he also received instructions from Giovanni Lascar (Giorn. d'Itsl. vol. xix. p. 92); but he afterwards corrected this error.—Ibid. vol. xx. p. 277.

NOTE 247 (p. 349).—He is called, in one of the inscriptions on his tomb, Τῆς Μεδικῆς οἰκίας τρόφιμον, which may be admitted as a proof that he was educated in the family of the Medici, but not that he acted as a preceptor there; nor has Zeno, who mentions it, adduced any authority to this effect.—Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 92. It is not indeed probable, that whilst Politiano was yet living, the education of the brothers of the Medici would be transferred from him to one of his pupils.

NOTE 248 (p. 350).—Under the following title—ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ. Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας καὶ κῆποι Ἀδώνιδος. THESAURUS CORNUCOPIÆ ET HORTI ADONIDIS, which the learned printer, in his preface, thus explains; "Ecce habetis opus oppido quam utile et necessarium, quem Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας, quem Κήπους Ἀδώνιδος quem jure THESAURUM appellaverim. In eo enim fere omnia reposita sunt quæ desiderare quis possit ad perfectam absolutamque cognitionem literarum Græcarum, et eorum præcipue quæ leguntur apud poetas; qui verba variis figuris ac linguis, ita sæpe immutant, ut facilius sit Nili caput quam alicujus temporis thema aut principium invenire. Sed hoc libro quam facillima facta sunt omnia," &c. This edition, which Zeno says is "molto rara, e però notissima a pochi," is preceded by the Latin preface of Aldo, after which follows the letter of Politiano before mentioned, which is not found in the general collection of his works. The ensuing page contains four Greek epigrams, in praise of the author, by Politiano, Aristobolo Apostolo, Scipione Carteromaco, and Aldo; and these are succeeded by two epistles in Greek, the one from Carteromaco to Varino, and the other from Varino to Piero de' Medici, as a dedication of the work; which he inscribes to him as an acknowledgment of the benefits which he had himself received, in having been permitted to attend with the young men of the family of Antinori on the instructions of Politiano. At the close of the volume we read—"Venitiis in domo Aldi Romani, etc. M.IIII.D."

NOTE 249 (p. 350).—"Consulam *Varinum Camertem, qui bibliothecæ nostræ præest*, hominem literatissimum et humanissimum, aut *Scipionem Carteromachum* familiarem etiam nostrum." In these words Giuliano de' Medici is represented as addressing his brother Giovanni. *Vide* Piero Alcyonio de Exilio, lib. ii. p. 179, ap. Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 93.

NOTE 250 (p. 351).—Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 95. Varino died at Nocera, in the year 1537, and was interred in the chapel of S. Venanzio, where a noble monument was erected to his memory, with his statue in a reclined posture. Below are four inscriptions in Greek.

NOTE 251 (p. 352).—VARINI CAMERTIS Apophthegmata, ad bene beateque vivendum mire conducentia, nuper ex lympidissimo Græcorum

fonte in Latinum fideliter conversa, et longe antea impressis castigatiora, &c. Romæ in ædibus Jacobi Mazochii, die xix. mensis Decembris, M.D.XIX. 8vo.

Note 252 (p. 352).—"More correctly *Crastonus*, also *Crestonus* sometimes called Johannes Monachus. Compare Denis, Curiosities of the Garellian Library." (Note of Mr. Henke, Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 137). An edition of this work, "Per Dionysium Bertochum de Bononia, printed at Vicenza, M.CCCC.LXXXIII." is in the collection of Richard Heber, Esq.*

Note 253 (p. 352).—The various appellations assumed by Varino have misled the French bibliographer De Bure, who has, in the general index of his work, quoted *Guarino Camerti*, the author of the "Thesaurus Cornucopiæ," and *Varino Phavorino*, the compiler of the Greek Lexicon, as distinct authors.

Note 254 (p. 354).—"Sappiamo bene per la testimonianza del Valeriano, che Scipione, per mezzo del Colocci, venne in conoscenza, che è lo stesso che dire in istima, del cardinale Giovanni, de' Medici," &c.—Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xx. p. 285. In this account the modern writer appears not to have consulted the authority which he has cited with his usual accuracy. *Vide* Valer. de Literat. infel. in art. Scip. Carterom. p. 119.

Note 255 (p. 354).—Pet. Alcyonius, in his book "De Exsilio," introduces Giulio de' Medici, as addressing himself to the cardinal Giovanni, afterwards Leo X., and designating Carteromaco by the name of *Familiaris noster*.—Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xx. p. 287.

Note 256 (p. 356).—Urbano died in the convent of S. Nicolo, at Venice, in the year 1524, and bequeathed to that convent his valuable library. His funeral oration, by Fr. Alberto da Castelfranco, was printed at Venice, in the same year, by Bernardino de' Vitali, in 4to.—Zeno, Giorn. d'Ital. vol. xix. p. 104. Note (*a*).

Note 257 (p. 356).—Erasm. Ep. ad Jacob. Tutorem, 1499. De Bure had never seen a copy of this edition.—Bib. instr. No. 2221. It was dedicated by Aldo to Giovan. Francesco Pico, nephew of Giovanni Pico of Mirandula.—Maittaire, Ann. Typ. vol. i. p. 638. The Grammar of Constantine Lascar was wholly in Greek.

Note 258 (p. 358).—Mazzuchelli, Scrittori d'Ital. art. Beroaldo. Mr. Henke has, however, observed that "Minuziano was not a printer, but a professor of history and eloquence at Milan; for, in the dedication of his Tacitus to Leo. X., he excuses himself on account of the copy prepared by him, thus: 'Cum ex alma Urbe ista Tua Cornelii Taciti non universum corpus, sed membratim ad me missum esset, vidissemque a Beroaldo, viro sane docto, quantum diligentiæ adhibitum esset, ut quam emendatissime ederetur, illico cogitavi, augustalem illam historiam auditoribus meis hoc anno exponere, cujus ut copia illis fierit, librariis meis describendam tradidi,' &c. Saxius, de studiis Literar. Mediol. p. 127. As for the rest, his Tacitus appeared in 1515; not as Panzer, in

his Annal Typogr. vol. vii. p. 395, determines, in 1517."—Note of Mr. Henke, Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 147.

NOTE 259 (p. 358). — Impartiality requires that I should not here omit the very interesting observations of Mr. Henke on the revival of oriental literature, although they give a different view of the subject from that which I have presented, and even represent Leo X. as inimical to the freedom of discussion and the liberty of the press. On my observing in the text that the knowledge of the oriental tongues first began to engage the *more particular* attention of the learned in the time of Leo X., Mr. Henke adds, "Not entirely so. The religious zeal directed to the conversion of the Jews had already induced a knowledge of their language. In the same manner the remnant of the Moslems in Spain gave the missionaries in that country an opportunity of studying the Arabic, and after the establishment of an order of ecclesiastics for the purpose of exterminating heresy, there always existed in that community some members who were acquainted with the eastern tongues, particularly in Spain. Several learned Jews also contributed to the same object, on their conversion to Christianity. Clement V. in the council of Vienne in 1311, had already directed that six professors of the eastern tongues should be attached to each of the higher schools at Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, in order to form able controversialists against the Jews and Mahomedans; and if this should not be considered conclusive, or as not attended by any very important consequences, yet, before the time of Leo X. much had been done in Rome itself towards this object. Even his unpolished predecessor, Julius II., had furnished the requisite expenses for the establishment of an Arabic press in the city of Fano.—Schnurrer. Biblioth. Arab. par. v. p. 5. From the Annals of Hebrew Bibliography by De Rossi, we further learn, that soon after the art of printing was brought to perfection, several editions of the old Testament were printed by the Jews, in various towns of Italy, as Soncino, Pesaro, and Brescia. But above all, nothing, either before or since, has so much contributed to the cultivation of Hebrew learning as the "Rudimenta" of John Reuchlin, which that learned German scholar published in 1506. Nor must we omit, if we wish to be impartial, that Leo X. in the last session of the Lateran council, published a bull for the especial purpose of restricting the freedom of the press, in regard to such works as were translated from the ancient languages into the Latin. However great the advantages may have been, he says, which the art of printing has conferred on mankind; 'quia tamen multorum querela nostrum et sedes Apostolicæ pulsavit auditum, quod nonnulli hujus artis imprimendi magistri in diversis mundi partibus libros tam Græca, Hebraicæ, Arabicæ, et Chaldææ linguarum in Latinum translatos, quam alios Latino ac vulgari sermone editos, errores etiam in fide, ac perniciosa dogmata etiam religioni Christianæ contraria, ac contra famam etiam dignitate fulgentium continentes, imprimere ac vendere præsumunt:' in future, therefore, no work shall be allowed to be printed, without a sufficient examination, and a permission subscribed by the officer appointed for that purpose, &c.—Concil. Lateran. *vide* a. 1515. With respect to this ordinance we may

observe, that it was probably issued at the instigation of the superiors of the ecclesiastical orders, and had a particular reference to the celebrated controversy carried on by Reuchlin with some German monks, especially those of Cologne, respecting the tendency and value of Jewish literature. That, however, this pontiff did not greatly interest himself in the cultivation and diffusion of the eastern tongues, from a fear, perhaps, that they might be converted into weapons against the true faith, is manifest from his so long withholding his indulgence from the publication of the polyglot Bible at Alcala. Nearly six years elapsed after the completion of that work, before he granted the requisite permission, although there was not the slightest cause to apprehend any danger to the church or her doctrines."—*Vide* Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 148. On this note of Mr. Henke, I shall only observe, that the restrictions on the press at Rome were not first introduced in the pontificate of Leo X., but in that of his predecessor, Sixtus IV., and that the continuance of them was most probably the act of the council of the Lateran, and not individually of the pontiff, who was not only solicitous to promote the study of the ancient languages, but liberally remunerated those who devoted themselves to the publication and translation of them. That this is incontrovertible, will sufficiently appear from the numerous instances given in the present work; to which, if it were necessary, several others might be added from the notes on the Italian translation by Count Bossi, who has paid particular attention to this subject. *Vide* Ital. ed. vol. iv. pp. 162, 166; vol. xii. p. 220, &c.*

Note 260 (p. 360).—He had intended to have given a similar edition of the whole of the sacred writings, but this portion only was published by him.—*Vide* Tirab. vol. vii. par. ii. p. 403. Of the Psalter of Giustiniani, now become very rare, Count Bossi has given a particular description. He has also added the dedication of Giustiniani to Leo. X., giving an account of the studies of the author, of the arrangement and object of his work, and of the encouragement given by the pontiff to the study of the oriental tongues. *Vide* Ital. ed. vol. iv. pp. 143, 166, 169, &c.

Note 261 (p. 364).—3 November, Ibid. p. 28. "A great outcry has been raised beyond the limits of Italy, against this concession of the pope; which, to say the truth, seems to exceed his powers, considered simply as head of the Christian church. But this was not the first instance in which the court of Rome had pretended to the right of disposing of states newly discovered, or conquered from the infidels. Leo X. had a recent example in his predecessor, Alexander VI., who had not only granted a bull to Ferdinand V. called *the Catholic*, by which, after having excommunicated the king of Navarre, he conferred his dominions on Ferdinand, who had possessed himself of them, but by another bull divided the Indies by an hypothetical line, between the same Ferdinand, the conqueror of the Moors, and the king of Portugal. The foundation, or the pretext, of these concessions was the exaltation of the church and the diffusion of the Christian faith."—Note of Count Bossi, Ital. ed. vol. v. p. 162. To the foregoing observations of Bossi, I shall only add, that these preposterous

grants have been submitted to by the European states more implicitly than might have been expected, and have been recently considered as the immediate cause of the unmolested possession of South America by the Spaniards, and of the efforts for colonization made by the English being directed to the north of that quarter of the globe. *Vide* Edinb. Rev. vol. xlii. p. 276.*

NOTE 262 (p. 364).—The degree of *Santo* and *Beato*, in the hierarchy of the Roman church, must not be confounded; the former being only conferred on those endowed with the highest degree of sanctity, accompanied by the evidence of miraculous powers, whilst the latter may be conceded to persons of holy life, although without such pretensions. The queen of Portugal in this instance is only *Beata*. But, according to Mr. Henke, she was, in the year 1625, declared *Santa*, or, in other words, she was *canonized*.—Act. Sanctor. vol. ii. Jul. p. 201. Germ. ed. vol. ii. p. 159.

NOTE 263 (p. 365).—Muratori asserts that this treaty was concluded the 24th March, 1514.—Annali d'Ital. vol. x. p. 109. But it appears to have been signed at Blois, on the first day of December, 1513, the only parties being their Catholic and most Christian majesties. The husband was to be either the archduke Charles or his brother Ferdinand, at the choice of the Catholic king and the princess Renée. Louis agreed to relinquish all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. The states of Milan, Pavia, and Genoa were to be conquered and transferred as a patrimonial inheritance to the archduke and his intended bride. The pope was named as the common ally of both parties, and power was reserved for the emperor and the king of England to accede to the league; the latter restoring to Louis XII. the city of Tournay.—Dumont, Corps Diplomat. vol iv. par. i. p. 178.

NOTE 264 (p. 366).—On the 20th of March, 1514, a correspondence commenced between the cardinal Giulio de Medici at Rome and Lorenzo de Medici at Florence, which was carried on at Rome by Balthazar da Pescia, and discloses not only all the transactions of the Roman court to the minutest particulars, but the views and designs of the supreme pontiff. From these letters, none of which have before been published, some extracts have already been given, and others will occur in the course of the present work.

NOTE 265 (p. 369).—These honorary rewards, "not so estimable for their materials as for their mystery," were transmitted to England by Leonardo Spinelli, and were accompanied by an explanatory letter from the pontiff to the king, informing him of their value and use, of which he might not otherwise have been aware.—*Vide* in App. No. XII. Rymer, vi. p. 57.

NOTE 266 (p. 369).—Although Guicciardini seems not to have determined whether this negotiation arose from the interference of the pontiff, or the proper inclination of the parties, yet he fully admits that it commenced between the pope and the archbishop of York at Rome. "Come si sia, cominciò presto, o per *l'autorità del pontefice*, o per *inclinatione propria delle parti*, a nascere pratica d'accordo tra il Re di Francia e il Re d'In-

ghilterra, i ragionamenti della quale, *cominciati dal Pontefice con Eboracense*, furono trasferiti presto in Inghilterra."—Storia d'Ital. vol. ii. lib. xii. p. 73. The documents now produced will, however, shew that the measure originated at Rome, a circumstance of which neither the Italian nor the English historians seem to have been sufficiently aware.

NOTE 267 (p. 369).—Balth. da Pescia, a Lor. de' Med. 25° Maggio, 1514. "Monsign. Reverendiss. (il card de' Medici) crede che N. Signore non farà cosa alcuna nova, per non alterare le cose di là da' monti; dove di già ha cominciato qualche pratica d'accordo; et il Re d'Inghilterra ha acceptato di auscultare il Generale di Normandia per homo di Francia, *et tutto segue con ordine di sua Santità*."—MSS. Flor.

NOTE 268 (p. 370).—It is remarkable, that the author of the League of Cambray asserts, "que le Pape entra dans le negociation peut-être pour la refroidir plûtost que pour l'échauffer." To which he adds, "Ce qui est certain c'est que le card. d'Yorck, Christophe Bembrice, ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Rome, qui sçavoit les intentions du Pape, ecrivoit souvent à son maitre pour le dissuader de faire la paix."—Tom. ii. p. 363. If the cardinal of York wrote to this effect, it is evident that he either did not know or did not approve of the intentions of the pope, which are unequivocally expressed in the secret correspondence of the Medici family before referred to.

NOTE 269 (p. 370).—*Vide* Rymer, Fœdera, vol. vi. par. i. p. 64. Dumont, Corps Diplomat. vol. iv. par. i. p. 183. On the signature of the treaty, Henry VIII. wrote to the pontiff, informing him, in terms of the highest esteem and respect, of the reconciliation which had taken place between him and Louis XII., which he justly attributes to the commendation and interference of the pontiff. *Vide* App. No. XIII.

NOTE 270 (p. 371).—I had in the earlier editions stated, that the cardinal died on *the twenty-fourth of July*, and had denominated Rinaldo *his steward*; but the real date of the cardinal's death was July 14th, as appears from a letter of the cardinal de' Medici to Henry VIII. dated that day, and cited by Mr. H. Ellis in his "Original Letters Illustrative of English History," vol. i. p. 100. Mr. Ellis has further observed that Rinaldo da Modena was not the *steward* of cardinal Bambridge, or Baynbrigge; but simply a priest, whom the cardinal employed in menial services in his chamber.*

NOTE 271 (p. 372).—It appears, that when Rinaldo was required to sign his confession, he found an opportunity of stabbing himself, and died the following day; after which he was hanged and quartered, *in terrorem*. "Questa mattina è stato appichato in ponte, et poi squartato, Don Rinaldo da Modona, alias el *Pretino*, che era servitore del cardinale di Inghilterra; perchè dicono che ha confessato havere avenenato il suo patrone, el quale è stato molti dì in Castello, et sendo più volte examinato diligentemente, ultimamente, dicono, che venendo per ratificare, si dette d'uno coltellino nella poppa manca, che nissuno lo vidde; et volendolo porre ad la corda si venne mancho, et viddeno correre sangue, et trovorno come lui si era ferito; et questo fu Venerdi mattino, et Sabbato sera circa

24 hori si morì, con buono sentimento; et così morto per dare exemplo ad li altri questa mattina lo hanno facto justitiare."—Bald. da Pescia, ad Lor. de' Med. 28. Agost, 1514. MSS. Fior.

NOTE 272 (p. 372).—Rymer, iv. par. i. p. 86. Mr. H. Ellis, in his "Original Letters," has also given a letter from the princess Mary to Louis XII. written before the marriage, vol. i. p. 114.*

NOTE 273 (p. 372).—The dissatisfaction of the queen, on this unexpected dismissal of her English attendants, appears in a letter to her brother Henry VIII. in Mr. Ellis's "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 116, where a list of their names is given.*

NOTE 274 (p. 373).—Andreas Ammonius was an Apostolic notary, the pope's collector in England, Latin secretary to Henry VIII. and prebendary of St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster, and of Fordington and Writhington, in the church of Salisbury.—Jortin's Life of Erasmus, p. 36. From a letter of Leo X. to Henry VIII. it appears, that some difficulties had arisen in the appointment of Ammonius to his office of receiver, which the pope submitted to the decision of the king.—Rymer, Fœdera, vi. i. p. 86. The letters between Ammonius and Erasmus compose the chief part of the eighth book in the epistolary correspondence of the latter. He died of the *Sudor Britannicus*, or sweating sickness, in the year 1520, as appears by a letter from Sir Thomas More, in Erasm. Ep. lib. vii. ep. 4. This *Andreas Ammonius* is not to be confounded with another Ammonius, a native of Ghent, and a Carthusian monk, who was also a correspondent of Erasmus, and who lived beyond the middle of the sixteenth century.—Note of Count Bossi, Ital. ed. vol. v. p. 163.

NOTE 275 (p. 373).—He was of a noble family of Verona, and before his ecclesiastical preferments, was denominated the count Lodovico Canossa. By his talents and integrity he acquired great authority and reputation, and was employed during the chief part of his life in the most important embassies, frequently in the service of Francis I., whose esteem and confidence he enjoyed in an eminent degree. His letters, many of which are published in the "Lettere di Principi," under the signature of "Il Vescovo de Baiusa," are written with great ability, and no less freedom with respect to the characters of the times; insomuch that they may be considered as the best in that collection.

NOTE 276 (p. 374).—Erasmus, in the year 1532, thus speaks of Canossa: "Si nunc Canossa parum bene est in Erasmum animatus, nihil est novæ rei. Solet spretus amor in iram verti," &c.—Erasm. Ep. lib. xxiv. ep. 24. Count Bossi has, in one of his additional notes, given a general sketch of the life of Erasmus, prior to his interview with Canossa; *vide* Ital. ed. vol. v. p. 164. But the most satisfactory abridgment of the particulars of the life of this great man, has been recently published in the "Memoirs of Erasmus," by Charles Butler, Esq., of Lincoln's-inn. Lond. 1825. 8vo.

NOTE 277 (p. 375.)—These observations are confirmed by Count Bossi, who has enumerated several of the dramatic performances, or *Rappresentazioni*, of the fifteenth century, which he had himself possessed; and

who warmly contends for the priority of the Italians in the introduction of a more correct style of theatrical representation.—Ital. ed. vol. v. p. 167.

NOTE 278 (p. 379).—Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, vol. ii. p. 388. It must, however, be observed, that Vasari is mistaken both in the year and the occasion of these rejoicings, which he placed in 1513, on the arrival of Leo X. at Florence. The celebration of this festival was in 1514, and Leo did not visit Florence until the end of the year following. The verses sung on this joyful occasion, written by the Florentine historian, Jacopo Nardi, have been preserved in the Canti Carnascialeschi.

NOTE 279 (p. 381).—It appears, from the private correspondence of the Medici family, that the cardinal wished to obtain 20 or 25,000 ducats from the Venetians, and the dignity of legate from the pope. As this information is derived from the confidential secretary who was employed in this transaction, there can be no doubt of its authenticity. *Vide* Lettere di Balth. da Pescia. MSS. Flor.

NOTE 280 (p. 383).—Guicciardini himself informs us, that the king of Spain was apprehensive, and not without reason, that the pope aspired to the kingdom of Naples for his brother Giuliano: lib. xii. p. 74: to which he afterwards adds, "che il Re di Francia prometteva aiutare il pontefice ad aquistare il Regno di Napoli, o per la Chiesa, o per Giuliano suo fratello" (lib. xii. vol. ii. p. 76), a circumstance which fully explains the conduct of the pontiff, in attempting to prevail on the king of France to hasten his expedition to Italy

NOTE 281 (p. 394).—Thus Pontano, in an epitaph for Lucretia Borgia, who, however, survived him upwards of twenty years:—

"Hic jacet in tumulo, Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais. Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus."

And Sanazzaro thus addresses her:—

"Ergo te semper cupiet, Lucretia, Sextus.
O fatum diri numinis, hic Pater est."

And this supposed intercourse is also frequently alluded to, in other parts of the works of the last-mentioned writer.

NOTE 282 (p. 397).—Guicciardini expressly asserts, that the husband of Lucretia, whom he calls Gismondo, was assassinated by Cæsar Borgia; and Muratori informs us, that Alfonso was first wounded, and afterwards poisoned, and that Cæsar Borgia was supposed to be the perpetrator of the crime; to which he was instigated by his attachment to the French, and his aversion to the family of Aragon. *Vide* Annali d'Ital. vol. ix. p. 606.

NOTE 283 (p. 398).—Nardi, Hist. Flor. p. 75. "The marriage articles were signed," says Mr. Gibbon (Antiq. of Brunswick, in Posth. Works, vol. ii. p. 689), "and as the bed of Lucretia was *not then vacant*, her third husband, a royal bastard of Naples, was first stabbed, and afterwards strangled in the Vatican." This is not founded on historical fact, nor, as far as I know, asserted by any other writer; the treaty for the marriage

with Alfonso of Este not having taken place till upwards of twelve months after the death of her former husband.

NOTE 284 (p. 400).—In the Ambrosian library, at Milan, a manuscript is said to exist, which contains nine letters, in the hand-writing of Lucretia, seven of which are in Italian, and two in Spanish; and at the close a copy of verses, also in Spanish, all of which are addressed to Bembo. These letters appear to have been folded in the form of billets, and are superscribed, "Al mio carissimo M. Pietro Bembo." The writer denominates herself "Lucretia Estense da Borgia," and the seals of the arms of Este and Borgia are appended to them. At the close of the volume is a canzone in Spanish, of the composition and hand-writing of Bembo, and in a folding of white vellum, tied with four ribands, is a lock of light-coloured hair, such as Bembo has frequently described in his poems, and which by constant tradition has been believed to be that of Lucretia Borgia. From the description of this singular relic, it decidedly appears, that this book formerly belonged to Bembo, who has minuted with his own hand the dates of the letters, and had probably inserted them in this volume, as a memorial of what he considered as the most elevated and honourable attachment of his early years.—Dissertazione del Dott. Baldassare Oltrocchi sopra i primi amori di Pietro Bembo. Raccolta d'opuscoli di Calogerà, vol. iv. p. 1.

NOTE 285 (p. 401).—"Alfonso I." says Mr. Gibbon, "*believed himself* to be the father of three sons. The eldest, his successor, Hercules II. expiated this maternal stain by a nobler choice, and his *fidelity* was rewarded by mingling the blood of Este with that of France."—Antiq. of the House of Brunswick in Posth. Works, vol. ii. p. 689. The doubt which Mr. Gibbon has implied respecting the legitimacy of the eldest son involves the historian in some degree of inconsistency. For, if Hercules was not in *fact* the offspring of Alfonso, how can he be said to have mingled the blood of *Este* with that of France?

NOTE 286 (p. 404).—Antonio Cornazzano addressed to her his Life of the Virgin, and Life of Christ, both in *terza rima* (Tirab. vol. vi. par. ii. p. 161), and Giorgio Robusto, of Alexandria, his poems, printed at Milan, about the year 1500. (Quadrio, vol. viii. p. 65.) To these I shall only add another testimony. Father Francesco Antonio Zaccharia, on examining the Jesuits' library of S. Fedele, at Milan, found a manuscript volume of poetry, the author of which, as appears by the dedication, was Luca Valenziano, of Tortona. Zaccharia imagined that these poems were unpublished, but there is extant a rare edition of them printed at Venice, by Bernardino de' Vitali, in 1532, 8vo. under the title of "Opere volgari di M. Luca Valenziano, Dertonese, ad istanza di Federigo di Gervasio, Napolitano." The poems in question have great merit, particularly for their pathetic simplicity, and are dedicated in the manuscript copy, but not in the printed work, to Lucretia Borgia, in the following Latin verses:—

"*Ad Divam Lucretiam Borgiam Estensem;*
Lucas Valentianus, Dertonensis,

"Quæ tibi pauca damus, tali, Lucretia, fronte
Suscipe nunc, quali grandia dona soles.
Hæc ego dum canerem lacrymis rorantia, dixi;
Præsideos nostræ, Borgia diva, lyræ.
O tecum Alphonsus duri post prælia Martis,
Otia Musarum quærere tuta velit.
Sic Cæsar, sic Rex Macedum, sic ille solebat,
Africa cui nomen, victa parente, dedit.
Hunc lege; perlectum longo ditabis honore;
Tutus et a rabido dente libellus erit."

Vide Raccolta d'Opuscoli di Calogerà, vol. xliv.

That Lucretia wrote Italian poetry is believed by Crescimbeni, who informs us that he had been assured by a person deserving of credit, and who was well acquainted with the early literature of Italy, that he had seen, in a collection of poems of the sixteenth century, several pieces attributed to her, but that, notwithstanding all the researches made both at Rome and at Florence, no traces of them could now be discovered. The annotator on Crescimbeni is, however, of opinion, that if this had been the case, her works would have been noticed by Bembo in the many letters addressed to her, or by Aldo, in his preface to the works of the two Strozzi. "She was, however," adds he, "a great patroness of literature, and by her means the court of Ferrara abounded with men distinguished even in foreign countries, among whom was the beforementioned Bembo." Mazzuchelli has, however, cited one of the letters of Bembo, from which it appears that she addressed some verses to him; but whether they were in Italian or Spanish, which latter language she frequently adopted in her poetical compositions, he has not ventured to decide. It may, however, be presumed, from lines in one of the elegant Latin poems addressed to her by Bembo, that she wrote Italian poetry, and it is not therefore without sufficient reason that both Mazzuchelli and Quadrio have enumerated her among the writers of Italy.—Ad Lucretiam Borgiam, in Bemb. Op. tom. iv. p. 345.

NOTE 287 (p. 404).—To the foregoing Dissertation on the Character of Lucretia Borgia, Mr. Henke has, in the German ed. (vol. i. p. 370), added a long and interesting note, in which, after some commendations of the motives of the author, he regrets "that, on a closer examination, this apology, conducted throughout with skill and benevolence, cannot, in a higher degree, produce the full effect which the author seems to have promised himself." On this I must observe, that it has produced all the effect I intended, which was merely to enable the reader, by an authentic statement of facts, to judge for himself on the degree of credit due to the reports respecting the conduct of Lucretia Borgia, and to shew what might with truth and justice be said in her defence. This statement Mr. Henke seems to think insufficient for her exculpation, and has undertaken to bring additional evidence in proof of her guilt, of *a more impartial*

nature and higher authority, as he supposes, than any that has before been adduced. I cannot, therefore, dismiss the present edition without either appearing to assent to his conclusions, or giving his arguments that refutation of which, as I conceive, they so readily admit; and I must, therefore, entreat the indulgence of the reader whilst I offer a few remarks on the subject.

I have said, that Mr. Henke has undertaken to bring *additional* evidence against the accused; but I ought rather to have said, that he has discarded all former testimony, and has taken upon himself the whole burthen of the charge. He fully admits, with me, that the decision ought not to depend upon the imputations of the *Neapolitan Poets*, any more than on the commendations of the *Ferrarese* and other writers who have made Lucretia Borgia the subject of their verses, or have dedicated to her their works. He also admits, that the observations I have made respecting the testimony of Guicciardini, in this instance, are well founded; on which account "this witness," he says, "may also be withdrawn." But "there remains," he observes, "*one* against whom neither a suspicion of partiality, nor a reproach of credulity can take place, and to whom our author has not yet afforded a hearing."—"This is the celebrated Peter Martyr of Milan, who had already written from Spain (Epist. 178, p. 101), in the year 1497, when the songsters of the Neapolitan court had not yet become very loud: 'Nuper allatæ sunt ad me literæ ab urbe; Astræam ferunt, vento velocius, ab ea discessisse, aufugisseque ad superos, nec reversuram putant, Bove sceptra tenente; Palatium sanctorum quondam patrum habitaculum, ubi claves tollendi claudendique tam inferorum quam superorum portas insident, *nefandis pontificiarum natarum nuptiis, atque profanæ nunc Veneri patens est. Nec fratribus ibi parcitur, ut fama est, nec alias utcumque proprio sanguini.*' "

On this evidence, upon which Mr. Henke appears to have placed his chief reliance, I must observe that Peter Martyr, the elder, the writer of the letter in question, was not a native of Milan; but was born in the vicinity of *Anghiera*, a small town in Italy, whence he was usually called *Anglerius*, and that he is not to be confounded with Peter Martyr, the well-known reformer; that he was an ecclesiastic of the Romish church, and resided during the greater part of his life at a distance from Rome, and chiefly in Spain, under the immediate patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella. With respect to the letter itself, it affects to be nothing more than the relation of *a report* which the writer had heard from Rome, and on which he cautiously abstains from giving his opinion, "*Nuper allatæ sunt literæ ab urbe*"—"*ferunt Astræam discessisse*"—"*ut fama est, &c.*" in short, a mere hearsay evidence, and such as cannot be admitted even on the most trivial question. Mr. Henke conceives that "the concluding words of his extract speak the more strongly, as they are expressed with the greater delicacy;" but these words refer only to the scandalous spectacles said to be exhibited at Rome on the marriage of Lucretia, and to the death of the Duke of Gandia, who was supposed to have been assassinated by his brother Cæsar Borgia. Neither the *com-*

petency of the witness, nor the *tenor of his testimony*, can therefore be allowed to have any bearing upon the present case.

In the assertion I have made that "throughout the whole narrative of Burchard (who seems on no occasion to have concealed what might disgrace his superiors or himself), there appears no intimation of that criminal intercourse of which Lucretia has been accused," Mr. Henke fully agrees; but he at the same time contends, that although Burchard has not, for reasons easily assignable, referred to it, he has inserted in his diary an oration, or philippic, which he calls a writing of impeachment, printed in Germany, and sent to the cardinal of Modena, as a seditious sermon against the pope, his family, and government; and which, according to Burchard, was *read before the pontiff himself*. This piece, Mr. Henke observes, "is outrageous and rude, but it is also energetic, and full of truth." Of the fact of its having been read before the pope, we may judge from the following passage, in which Alexander is described as "Proditor generis humani, qui omnem ætatem suam stupris et rapinis contaminavit; infamis bestia; omnium ætatum detestabilissima vitiorum vorago, et gurges altissimus; ejus filius fratricida, et cardinali sicarius," &c. Is it possible to believe that such a paper as this was read before the pope? and such a pope as Alexander VI.? or is it not more likely to be an interpolation into the Annals of Burchard, manufactured in Germany, and first printed by Eccard? (Vol. ii. p. 2145, reference of Mr. Henke.) For this reason I shall not reprint the long extract which Mr. Henke has given from this oration; but shall merely observe, that even if it could be thought authentic, the particular passage, which he seems to think inculpates Lucretia of the crime of which she is accused, has no *necessary* reference to that subject.

But whatever may be the construction put upon this *additional evidence*, I must be permitted to observe, that it is only a repetition of those reports, the truth or falsehood of which can neither be positively affirmed or denied; whilst in what I have stated, I have relied on facts which speak for themselves, and can neither be perverted or misunderstood. I have shewn that Alexander, so far from having manifested a criminal passion for his own daughter, lost no time in disposing of her in marriage, where she was to pass her life at a distance from him. I have shewn that at the very time when these pretended crimes are represented to have been the most flagrant, she was received as a wife by one of the most distinguished princes of Italy, who it cannot be supposed, would have admitted, as the partner of his throne and of his bed, a woman publicly branded as the prostitute of her father and of her brothers. I have demonstrated also that she was worthy of the high station to which she was raised, and that she was not only beloved by her husband for her accomplishments, but confided in, by him, for her judgment and good sense; and from these, and many other circumstances stated in the foregoing dissertation, I have been led to conclude, that she could, *at no time*, have been the depraved and abandoned character which the enemies of her father (perhaps more in resentment to him than in enmity to herself), have represented her to be.

The Conte Cav. Luigi Bossi, the Italian translator of the present work, has shewn himself more disposed to a favourable construction of the character of Lucretia Borgia; and has in his edition produced several authentic and valuable documents relating to her. Amongst these are five original letters from her to the eminent Gian-Giorgio Trissino, the author of the "Italia Liberata," and one of the most learned and accomplished men of the time. From these letters, written whilst she was duchess of Ferrara, it appears that she greatly depended on the judgment of Trissino, in the education of Ercole, her eldest son, afterwards duke of Ferrara, by the name of Ercole II.; that on this occasion, Trissino recommended Nicolò Lazzarino, an eminent scholar of the time, who was accordingly appointed preceptor, and gave great satisfaction in that office. In other respects these letters demonstrate that the duchess well knew how to unite condescension with dignity, and the style of a sovereign with the cordiality of a friend. These letters, the originals of which are preserved in the collection of the noble brothers, Trissino, Conti dal Vello d'Oro, resident in Vicenza, were copied for insertion in the Italian edition of this work, by Sig. Francesco Testa, of the same place, and will be found in the Appendix to the present edition, No. XIV. where I shall also give another letter, published by Bossi, from Trissino to Bembo, both of them great admirers of the Duchess of Ferrara, which may serve to give a more correct idea of the nature of the friendship and attachment which subsisted amongst the parties, than any other document to which I can refer; of this last I shall here also give an English translation, first premising, that the duchess had presented Trissino with a medallion of herself (impressions of which are yet preserved in several collections), which Bembo was desirous of obtaining from him; and that being disappointed in his expectations, he had written a fretful and complaining letter, to which Trissino returned the following reply, which may be considered as a model of elegance, moderation, and good sense:—

"*Gian-Giorgio Trissino to Pietro Bembo.*

"I perceive that your mild and forbearing temper has been somewhat too much ruffled by your not having obtained the medallion you requested from me, of which I am not so unjust and avaricious an estimator, as not to be sensible how much I ought to prefer to it your favour and satisfaction; but having received it on the conditions I hold it, from one who is more the owner of it than myself, I cannot, by these means, conciliate your regard, which I would willingly purchase with any thing else of much higher value. For, if the resemblance which this medallion gives of the lady you admire (la donna amata), justifies in your opinion the wish to possess it, why should it not, for the same reason, justify in me the desire to retain it? independently of that duty which engages me not to part with it on any account whatever. Two strong ties, affection and fidelity, dispute with me the power of making you this present, from which, I am certain, your own worth and good sense cannot release me; for if you esteem and value in me any thing that is commendable, you ought above all things to esteem and value that which you yourself possess in so

eminent a degree; on which account I flatter myself, that dismissing any cause of dissatisfaction, you will indulgently afford a more liberal opening for my apologies, and will not hesitate in exerting that authority which you possess of disposing of me at your pleasure; being assured that the regret which I feel, in not being able to comply with your request, is much greater than the disappointment you experience in having made it in vain."

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